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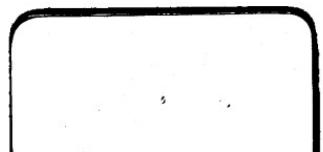
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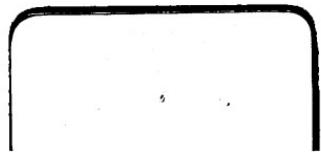
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Part I.

The Society does not hold itself responsible for statements made or opinions expressed by authors of the papers published in this Journal.

The Life and Times of Henry Dangar.

By E. C. ROWLAND, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S. (Fellow).

(Read before the Society, March 25, 1952.)

PART I.

HIS EARLY LIFE.

The Dangar family was originally French, and, being Huguenot in faith, migrated to the Channel Islands, settling in Jersey at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. This Edict, promulgated in 1598 by Henri IV. of France, granted religious liberty to the Huguenots or French Protestants. It was confirmed by Louis XIII., his successor, in 1614, but was revoked by Louis XIV. in 1685. The Dangar family moved from Jersey at the beginning of the 18th century and settled in Cornwall.¹

William, the father of Henry Dangar, was born at Lampen Farm in the Parish of St Neot, Cornwall, in 1772; but at the age of fifteen he went to live in Looe under the eye of his uncle William. He returned to St Neot not long after his marriage on March 31, 1794, to Judith, daughter of John Hooper of Helligan, Bodmin. Whatever vocation he followed in Looe, he seems to have been successful, for in an old notebook of Uncle William's, now in the possession of Mr Neville Dangar, it is recorded that his nephew, wife and servant had returned to St Neot. Here, on the southern edge of Bodmin Moor, Henry, the Australian pioneer, was born on November 18, 1796. He was baptised in the Parish Church on January 25, 1797, by the Rev. William Batt.²

From this very early stage until Henry arrived in

1. *Australian Men of Mark*, p. 318 *et seq.*

2. From the Baptism Register of the Parish Church of St Neot.

Australia, there is an amazing absence of information about him. Unless he was educated at home by a tutor, there are two schools to which he could have gone :

- (1) Liskeard Grammar School, near the Castle of Liskeard.
- (2) Truro Grammar School, Truro.

Of the first, apart from the fact that it was a place where many famous scholars and men of learning were educated, little else is known, as it closed in 1843.

One small fact which may be a connexion here is an entry in the records of the Liskeard Corporation, showing that the salary of the master-in-charge was donated by the Eliot family. It was a member of this local family, the Earl of St Germans, who nominated Henry Dangar as a free settler in New South Wales. It is possible the Earl knew Dangar through his interest in the school. Unfortunately all the records of the school have been lost.

The second school, now called the Cathedral School, Truro, seems the equally likely, although all its early records have also disappeared, either, it is said, through a fire or through removal by a jealous headmaster who did not receive promotion to which he felt he was entitled.³ I personally feel that this school is more likely, as, when Henry Dangar revisited England and lived in London in the early 'fifties, he sent his son Albert Augustus to this school for two or three years. Why should he do this, passing innumerable good schools in London and between there and Cornwall, unless it was a desire to send his son to his own school ? If this assumption is correct, then Henry would have been at the school during the headmastership of Thomas Hogg, who numbered amongst his pupils Humphry Davy, the famous scientist, Henry Martyn, Clement Carlyon, and Henry Turner, M.P.

The only other clue we have about his early life is a clause in a long letter which Henry Dangar sent to Lord Glenelg through Governor Bourke in 1836. In this he states "having been bred a surveyor." In the possession of Mr Neville Dangar is a small notebook containing exercises in stereometry set out and explained by Henry's uncle, Anthony Cary, and, as this book has been passed down through Henry's family, it is reasonable to assume

3. Information supplied by the Headmaster of the Cathedral School, Truro, and the Liskeard County Grammar School.

that Anthony Cary played a part in the training of Henry Dangar as a surveyor.

What turned the young lad's thoughts to New South Wales ? Here again we have no definite clue, but there are all sorts of possibilities. Captain William Bligh lived in a neighbouring parish in Cornwall, and he had returned to his home in the later years of Henry's school career. Could the ex-Governor have led Henry's thoughts in this direction ? Perhaps Anthony Rogers of Liskeard, a friend of the Dangar family, who seemed to have contacts with many leading people at the time, might have been the intermediary. Bligh would know the need for good surveyors in New South Wales.

All we can say for certain, however, is that Mr Anthony Rogers brought Henry to the notice of his patron, the first Earl of St Germans, who recommended to the British Government that Henry be allowed to emigrate to New South Wales.⁴ This was necessary, for New South Wales was still looked upon as a convict colony. The day of the assisted migrant had not yet arrived, and even those intending settlers who could afford to pay their passages had to receive authority to do so. Permission was granted, and Henry Dangar arrived in Sydney on April 2, 1821, by the ship *Jessie*, commanded by Captain Wolbrow.⁵ William and his brother Thomas arrived by the *Cumberland* on November 11, 1825.⁶

The energy and activity of Henry commended themselves to Surveyor-General John Oxley, at whose home he was a frequent guest. From the *Sydney Gazette* of that time we learn that a fowling piece of Henry's, marked "Hervey Exeter London," had been stolen from the Oxley home at Kirkham, and a reward of £5 for its return was offered. Oxley approached Governor Macquarie with a request for two assistant surveyors to assist him in the increasing work of his department, and recommended William Harper and Henry Dangar for the positions. As the years had passed, many under sentence were freed, and also an increasing number of free settlers arrived, all needing land. Thus Oxley's request was a genuine one. Macquarie acceded to it, and Henry was appointed an

4. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. XII., pp. 496-7.

5. *Sydney Gazette*, April 4, 1821.

6. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. X., p. 541.

Assistant Surveyor as from July 1, 1821, at a salary of six shillings per diem.⁷

AS A GOVERNMENT SURVEYOR.

Dangar was not long in receiving his first task. On March 31, 1821, Governor Macquarie had asked John Oxley to have a survey made of the district of Bargo, in the County of Argyle, the country previously visited by Throsby. The appointment of two assistants enabled the Surveyor-General to put the work in hand at once, and Dangar was despatched before July was over. The task took some time, for when Hamilton Hume left Appin to select land in the Argyle County in the following January he reported passing Dangar busy at his task and staying at Mr Charles Wright's farm at the time. No field book of Dangar's of this survey has survived, but the *Sydney Gazette* of October 26, 1821, speaks of it being in the Argyle and Camden Counties.

Four years later, Dangar was again in these southern regions surveying in the County of Camden. He followed a route from D'arrietta's Farm⁸ to the ford at Stone Quarry Creek, through the Parishes of Camden and Picton, surveying Hannibal Macarthur's farm of 1060 acres and the Parish of Weronba.

Otherwise Henry Dangar's work as Assistant Surveyor was centred in the Hunter River Valley, although an area of 700 acres in the Cowpastures district was measured by Surveyor Harper in January, 1822, for a grant to Henry Dangar, the property to be known as Neotsfield.⁹ This grant, however, was not taken up, and the name was transferred to a property later selected in the Hunter Valley.

There are two surveyor's field books in the Mitchell Library, Nos. 193 and 194, both of which are attributed to Dangar. The books each cover a journey starting on March 14, 1822, at a point about two miles south of Newcastle, working northwards, in which Oak Swamp (probably present-day Hexham Swamps), Mr Platt's house ("Ironbark"), Ash Island, Spit Island, Mount Kenworthy, the mouth of Wallis Creek, and Mr Brown's cottage were passed before the survey was completed on April 29. Both

7. Field Book 182 in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

8. Morton Park, near Picton.

9. Field Book 182 in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

books have the same entries, those of No. 194 being a little more detailed and more complete. The writing in the first is not like that of Henry Dangar, and changes in style after the entry for March 24. It is probably a copy. The writing in the second is much more like Dangar's, and was most likely his work. It is difficult to assess a value to these books, and it is suggested in the Mitchell Library catalogue that No. 193 at least might be the work of Surveyor McBrien.

After consulting with historical authorities in Newcastle, it seems to me that this trip was carried out by boat, or by a party walking along the banks of the Hunter River by way of the present site of Raymond Terrace and Morpeth. Mount Kenworthy would probably be Mount Kanwary, shown on Lands Department maps on very nearly the same bearing as that given by Dangar. Lieutenant Kenworthy was attached to the garrison at Newcastle until 1814.¹⁰ The journey would finish somewhere near the present site of Maitland.

We are on definite ground when we come to Field Book 195, covering the period from August 2, 1822, until March 13, 1823. It begins with a survey of the township of Newcastle, or King's Town in the Parish of Newcastle, as Governor Brisbane called it when, in 1823, he threw the former convict settlement open to emigrants, mechanics and settlers. Dangar described Newcastle at this period in these words :—

Its public and government buildings consist of a church, once a neat edifice, but latterly divine service has not been performed in it, in consequence of the steeple being considered unsafe, which is now taken down; the other public buildings are the residence of the resident Police Magistrate, Parsonage house, Surgeon's quarters, Court House, Officers' quarters, Store, Military Barracks and Guard Room, Hospital, Gaol, etc. with the Fort on the extremity of the neck commanding the entrance to the Harbour. Its public houses do not yet amount to more than from 25 to 30 and 200 inhabitants.¹¹

Dangar began to survey and lay out the township of Newcastle, but it appears that his first plan was not acceptable, and he drew up another one in 1823, which was approved. He records that he began the town survey near the Government Wharf, and on the right of the coal yard. A copy of his final plan was included in the *Hunter*

10. From information supplied by the Research Officer of the Lands Department (Mr B. T. Dowd), Sydney.

11. *Hunter River Directory* (Dangar), pp. 47-8.

River Index and Directory which he published in England in 1828. The names of the persons to whom the various allotments in the town had been granted are shown, and it is noted that Dangar himself had been given allotment 192.

From the township at the mouth of the Hunter River, Dangar turned his attention to the Hunter Valley. We find him at Wallis Plains on November 18, 1822, and at Patrick's Plains on December 6. He returned to Newcastle on January 11, 1823, no doubt to draft the second plan of the township as mentioned above, but by February 1 he was back at Wallis Plains. He notes the fact that he checks and surveys the boundaries of the grants of some of those pioneer settlers of the Valley—George Mitchell, Patrick Riley, John Smith, —. Eckford, John Allen, Thomas Bradman and Pat. Malony. By February 8 he was at Patterson's Plains. His work consisted principally of definitely surveying and marking on the map the boundaries or section lines of grants formerly made.

Of this period, Surgeon P. Cunningham, in his book, *Two Years in New South Wales*, published in 1827,¹² wrote :—

It is but a few years back when Mr. Dangar was sent down to Hunter's River to complete the survey of the land in that settlement, none worthy of measurement being supposed to exist above 25 miles up the stream—which he was assured by the Commandant (stationed at Newcastle) had its origin in some barren mountains thereabouts, he having traced it—as he declared—in a boat to near its source. Mr. Dangar went on exploring, however, measuring and opening out every week some new tract of land until he had worked his way in a boat to the district of Patrick's Plains,¹³ forty-five miles from Newcastle. Here to his great surprise, he perceived several stockmen at work, who, on seeing his boat advance toward them, instantly threw down their tools and dived into the bush, alarmed at his sudden and unlooked for invasion. They turned out to be the servants of some Hawkesbury settlers who had explored the present route over the Bulga and had brought their cattle to graze upon the rich plains they had discovered. From the distant and circuitous route traversed they did not positively know what river they had built their huts upon, but at all events never dreamt of being so near Newcastle.

Twenty-three field books of Surveyor Henry Dangar are preserved in the Mitchell Library, and of these twenty-

12. *Two Years in New South Wales* (P. Cunningham), Vol. I., pp. 168-9.

13. Discovered and named on St Patrick's Day, 1820, by John Howe and party.

one cover journeys in the Hunter Valley extending through the Counties of Northumberland, Durham and Brisbane. This "indefatigable surveyor of the Hunter Valley," as he has been called, claimed to have surveyed 579,000 acres of land in these journeys.¹⁴

At the back of Field Book No. 195 there is a letter dated April 4, 1823, from Henry Dangar to the Police Magistrate at Newcastle, Major Morisset, requesting shoes for his men, two previous letters on the subject having been ignored. He informs Major Morisset that he plans to remain at Township No. 17 until a boat is sent to Wallis Plains. It certainly would be difficult for a surveying party to do their work effectively without shoes !

Perhaps the best way to convey the extent of survey work done by Henry Dangar during the years 1822 to 1828 would be to give a very brief summary of the journeys in those books. By reference to the map, the value of his contribution to the colony will be evident :

Field Books Nos. 193, 194 and 195 have already been mentioned.

Field Book 196—Remarking of section lines at townships Nos. 17 and 20; survey of Parishes of Middlehope, Wolfingham, Gosforth and Heddon (1822-1824).

Field Book 208—An extension of No. 196 with the addition of the Parish of Darlington (1823).

Field Book 209—Survey of section of Hunter River and Wallis Creek, with farms and leases in the Parishes of Middlehope, Branxton and Gosforth (1823).

Field Book 210—Survey in Parishes of Belford and Whittingham (1823).

Field Book 211—Survey in Parish of Sedgefield (1823).

Field Book 212—Survey in Parish of Darlington (1823).

Field Book 213—Farms adjacent to another section of the Hunter River; traverse of Glendon Brook, West Brook, Pond's Creek and adjacent farms (1823).

14. Dangar's memorial to the Secretary of State enclosed in Governor Bourke's Despatch No. 118, dated 1836.

- Field Book 215—In Parishes of Gosforth, Seaham and Middlehope; bearings taken in vicinity of Sugar Loaf Hill; tracing course of Black Creek and portion of Hunter River (1823).
- Field Book 218—Traverse of left bank of Hunter River from the township of Auckland to Fal Brook and from Lemington to Auckland upwards; survey in Parishes of Auckland, Ravensworth and the course of Fal Brook (1824).
- Field Book 219—An extension of areas surveyed in No. 218 (1824).
- Field Book 220—Survey of Lidell, Wollombi Creek, Lemington and Whybrow in the Parishes of Warkworth and Wollombi (1824).
- Field Book 221—The Hunter River from Wollombi Creek to the Isis River (1824).
- Field Book 222—Iron Bark Creek and the township of Warkworth (1824-6).
- Field Book 223—Branxton, Alnwick, Warkworth and Whittingham (1824-5).
- Field Book 236—Divisions of the Counties of Northumberland and Durham (1825).
- Field Book 237—In the County of Camden (1825).
- Field Book 249—Farms in the vicinity of the Parishes of Russell, Macqueen, Strathearn, and on Pages River, Muscle Brook, Dart Brook and Kingdon Ponds (1826).
- Field Book 250—Parishes of Sccone and Strathearn in the County of Brisbane (1826).
- Field Book 251—Extension of No. 250 (1826).
- Field Book 252—Survey of Goulburn River and other parts of the Brisbane County (1826).

In addition to this extensive work, Dangar was able to do two other jobs of a more exploratory nature which had a far-reaching effect on the development of the colony.

In October, 1824, he was engaged in the survey noted in Field Book No. 221. On this occasion the party consisted of Dangar and J. Richards, both Government surveyors, two other men and a black boy. They had left P. Thorley's farm at Patrick's Plains on October 7 with the intention of journeying, if possible, to the Liverpool Plains, access to which was then only possible by the Bathurst Plains and Pandora's Pass. After crossing the

Wollombi Creek, the party followed the river for several days, although Dangar expressed disappointment at the direction it was taking, it being a more south-westerly than north-westerly one. On October 9 the party came to a creek, called by Dangar Dart Brook, where a tree was suitably marked H.D. over J.R. He described the land there as rich meadow land, an eligible tract for colonization. This



HENRY DANGAR.

(From the original in possession of R. N. Dangar, Esq., Sydney.)
(Block by courtesy Dangar, Gedye, Malloch Ltd.)

is of interest, as it was an area later settled by William Dangar. Blacks visited the party while they were in the neighbourhood, showing great confidence in the white men. No attacks were experienced, but, in spite of a careful watch, two tin pots disappeared. Lemmoran Creek¹⁵ was discovered and named on October 12. On the following

15. Probably the Sparks Creek of to-day.

day an early start was made, as it was felt that the discovery of the Liverpool Plains was imminent. Lemmoran Vale appeared to be of a rich nature. A tree was marked at this stage. A passable route was then discovered over the mountains,¹⁶ and the Liverpool Plains were entered for a distance of four miles. This new route was a distance of 135 miles from Newcastle. A stock route follows the track now. Further advances were halted by an attack made by a party of about 150 natives. The trouble lasted for three hours, and a pack horse loaded with provisions was killed. One man was also speared. The booty of the pack horse and its provisions seemed to absorb the attention of the natives and enabled Dangar's party to withdraw safely. They returned to Dr Bowman's farm, Archerfield, in the higher part of the Hunter Valley.¹⁷ Subsequent overlanders followed this route discovered by Dangar and his party.

The second task was undertaken at the request of Surveyor-General Oxley in 1826. On January 1 Henry Dangar, with the resident Commissioner of the newly formed Australian Agricultural Company, Mr Robert Dawson, set off to examine the country around Port Stephens, which had been suggested as a site for the operations of that Company. On landing at Port Stephens, the party moved up the Karuah River and established camp about fourteen miles from the mouth. From this camp, journeys were undertaken in several directions and reports made. Commissioner Dawson seemed satisfied, and selected a site near the mouth of the Karuah River as a suitable one for the Company's headquarters. A schooner was then sent to Port Stephens with men, materials and stores, and a settlement was begun.¹⁸

Henry Dangar later played a more important part in the affairs of the Australian Agricultural Company, but that will be mentioned at a later stage.

Enough has been said to show the extensive and exhaustive work undertaken by Henry Dangar as a Government surveyor until his dismissal in 1827. It is true to

16. Probably Cedar Brush of to-day.

17. Field Book No. 221 in the Mitchell Library; *Sydney Gazette*, November 11, 1824; *Australian*, December 23, 1824.

18. *The Australian Agricultural Company, 1824-1875* (Gregson), p. 24 *et seq.*

say that no one had such an intimate knowledge of the Hunter Valley as he did. From end to end he traversed the land, measuring, mapping and noting, and on his reports the gradual settlement of the upper parts of the Valley became possible as free settlers to the colony increased.

LIBEL!

Although he was kept busily occupied with surveying tasks, Henry Dangar found time to be involved in a law



Mrs. HENRY DANGAR.

(From the original in possession of R. N. Dangar, Esq., Sydney.)
(Block by courtesy Dangar, Gedy, Malloch Ltd.)

suit for alleged libel in the Sydney Supreme Court, and thereby hangs a tale.

Part of Dangar's duties was to instruct the son of Robert Lowe, a landowner and magistrate living at Birling Farm, Bringelly, in the art of surveying. How successful

the tuition was has not been recorded, but it appears certain that most cordial relations existed between teacher and pupil. In fact, Henry Dangar received several invitations both from the lad and from his father to visit the Lowes' home. At last he agreed to do so, and found himself a welcome guest.

In the course of conversation with his host, Dangar stated he was looking for a more suitable horse to carry him on his travels. Lowe at once offered to help, and produced for Dangar an apparently fine horse of alleged good stock. He offered the animal to Dangar in exchange for the latter's mare, plus an additional £25. The offer was accepted, and, after spending some further time with his host, he set off on his way back to Sydney. But, alas ! the well-bred horse was completely exhausted by the time home was reached.

Dangar wrote a rather indignant letter to Lowe requesting the return of his former horse, but this was refused. In the correspondence that followed, Dangar said he thought he had been dealing with a gentleman, but he was now of the opinion he had had transactions with a horse-dealer. But all the correspondence could not alter Lowe's decision. Dangar thereupon took a line of action frequently adopted by those who are frustrated in their efforts—he wrote to the press !

In the *Sydney Gazette* of January 2, 1828 there appeared a letter, parts of which are worthy of repetition : Sir,

As wonders and monstrosities are often occurring in this "land of peaches and pound notes," I fear what I am about to address you on will not meet the attention the case merits, but as my feelings are somewhat hurt, I am brought to the task of relating to you some facts connected with my being most completely horse-jockied of late.

I have spent some years in the country, which you tell us is rapidly advancing to prosperity, but you must know my avocations have obliged me to be in the bush the greater part of my time, consequently I know little of the people I live amongst; but costly experience now, Mr. Editor, informs me that there is something quite incompatible in the principles of some folks here.

You must know that I took it into my head, a few weeks since, to take a pleasurable ride into the country, and having some little precious acquaintance with one of your J.P.'s, whose castle and domain is about 30 miles from your metropolis, and from whom and other members of the family I had received repeated invitations to visit them, I consequently bent my course thitherward. This

gentleman, for such I must call him, as one of the late Governors did make an *Esquire* of him, whose name is not Lough or Love, but something like it, and for brevity sake I shall call him Mr. L.

Dangar then proceeds to tell the story of the purchase of the horse, a Herculean animal, and its dismal performance. He also tells of the refusal of Mr L. to return to the *status quo*, and mentions that Mr L. had refused to seek arbitration as suggested by Dangar, but would take the matter to law, with W. C. Wentworth defending. Of his attitude to this action, he writes :—

I'll not go to law with him. I have found him wanting in every feeling of friendship and honour; therefore let him quietly exult in the victory he has obtained and enjoy the fruits thereof. . . . As I quietly sit down with the loss I have already sustained, I shall debit myself for the amount in my cash memorandum : "To cost of experience in purchasing a horse of a Botany Bay gentleman." I shall also note that in dealing with Squire L., "I paid dear for my whistle."

After mentioning the financial aspect of the case after he had sold this wonderful horse, Dangar concludes :—

So much, Mr. Editor, for the principles of my honourable friend. I can no longer recognise him as such; I can no better designate him than the wolf in the habit of a lamb. I hope I shall never meet with "his like again."

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN BULL.

In the *Sydney Gazette* a fortnight later there appeared a letter from the pen of Robert Lowe designating Henry Dangar as the author of the "scurrilous and unfounded attack," full of "gross misrepresentation." Lowe informs readers that, as soon as possible, he is giving Dangar a chance to defend himself at law, and appeals to the public to suspend opinion until then.

On January 19 Dangar received a letter from the office of W. C. Wentworth, signed by the lawyer's clerk, C. H. Chambers, notifying Dangar that Wentworth had received instructions from Mr Robert Lowe to take proceedings against him on account of the above publication in the *Sydney Gazette*. The letter requested Dangar to name his attorney, so that the process of the Court may be served.¹⁹

Dangar engaged Wentworth's partner, Dr Wardell, and the case came before the Court in August of the same

19. Wentworth's Letter Book A1440 in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

year. The *Sydney Gazette* of August 9 reports the case briefly, stating that Lowe claimed damages of £400. The result was a verdict for Lowe of £25 damages and costs—somewhat of an anti-climax.

DISMISSED FROM OFFICE.

One might be forgiven for thinking that all would be well with a surveyor who worked so consistently for the Government. With so few competent surveyors at work and so much surveying to do, it would have appeared to be good policy for the Government to keep their officers contented. But with Henry Dangar there seems to have been rumblings of trouble at a very early stage.

At the beginning, it will be recalled, William Harper and Henry Dangar were appointed assistants to the Surveyor-General at a salary of six shillings per day, or £109/10/- per annum. From the beginning of January, 1823, this was increased to £200 per annum without any allowances, Dangar being designated Second Assistant (Harper being the first). Then trouble started. Three men arrived from England in 1825 with official recommendations from the British Government, and were appointed surveyors over Dangar with salaries of £250 per annum, with additional allowances for lodging and forage. This reduced Dangar to the position of Fifth Assistant, a retrograde step instead of an advancement after four years' service. This Dangar rightly felt was "vexatious and discouraging." The Surveyor-General, who knew the value of Dangar's work, approached Governor Brisbane with the request that he equalize the salaries. But in this the easy-going ruler declined to interfere.

Dangar thereupon took the only other course open to him—an appeal to the Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst. He sent a memorial to him, dated December 12, 1825, and at the same time appealed to his friend, Anthony Rogers of Liskeard, to do what he could in the matter. Rogers apparently was successful in obtaining assurances from Lord Bathurst that Dangar's position would be rectified. The Secretary of State seems to have forgotten these promises, however, for on August 13, 1826, the Under-Secretary, Hay, wrote to Governor Darling that the Secretary of State declined to act in the matter unless other circumstances warranted it; so in the quarterly

returns in the following September, Dangar still appears as Fifth Assistant with a salary of £200 per annum.²⁰

Something may have stirred Bathurst's memory a short while after, for he wrote to Darling on December 12, 1826, to inform him that Dangar was to have an increase of £50 per annum in salary upon the retirement of William Harper, the First Assistant, into whose position he was to step. Bathurst states that he feels, somewhat belatedly as it turned out, that the salaries of such officers should be such as would place temptation beyond their reach.²¹ Perhaps Anthony Rogers had again written to Lord Bathurst, but trace of that letter has been lost.

However, before the matter could be fully implemented, Dangar was involved in a serious dispute which eventually led to his dismissal from office.

On March 11, 1827, Governor Darling reported to Lord Bathurst that a free settler in the colony, Mr Peter McIntyre, agent in the colony for the British member of Parliament, Mr Potter Macqueen, had made a serious complaint dated October 23, 1826, about Dangar's method of allocating land. The complaint was that Dangar unduly and unwarrantably appropriated to himself and his brother land on the Hunter River lying between Dart Brook and Kingdom Ponds so as to prevent him, Mr. McIntyre, from having that priority of selection to which he considered he was entitled as agent for Mr. Potter Macqueen, as well as for his brother and himself.

Apart from any other aspect of the case, it was most unfortunate that the matter arose at this stage, for Darling, trained in the efficient methods of the staff of the Horse Guards, was somewhat appalled at the lax methods of several of his Government departments. He had begun to rectify matters, and Captain John Piper, the Naval Officer, had found it necessary both to resign and to sell several of his properties to cover the deficiencies in the accounts of his department. So that any alleged irregularities of another Government officer would not receive much sympathy from the Governor. In fact, Darling did behave in a very high-handed way with Dangar.

Darling was busily engaged in other matters at the time, and he asked his secretary, Macleay, to make a full inquiry into the matter. For this purpose the Land

20. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. XII., pp. 494
et seq.

21. *Ibid.* p. 714.

Board, consisting of William Stewart, the Colonial Treasurer, and William Lithgow, the Auditor-General and the Colonial Secretary, as the secretary, was called together.²² The original letter of McIntyre's was considered, and further information was called for from the Surveyor-General, John Oxley, Henry Dangar and Peter McIntyre. Maps covering the land in question were inspected, and a defence of Dangar's action by Oxley, though it caused the Board some surprise, was also read. The Board claimed that each party was shown the letters and replies of the other side and given an opportunity to answer any accusations. Dangar later stated in his appeal to Lord Bathurst that he had not been allowed to speak in his own defence at the inquiry, and that when he did so he was requested to go outside. But as he was later reprimanded for using offensive language in a letter to the Governor, for which he offered a sincere apology and the reprimand was withdrawn, it is quite possible that he was not allowed to speak in his defence because of a lack of self-control.

The report of the Land Board was completed on February 28, 1827, and forwarded to the Governor. This set out the findings of the board, the principal points of which were :—

(i) That Henry Dangar had priority of selection to 1300 acres and no more, this area having been promised by Governor Brisbane. After that, Peter McIntyre had priority of claim to other lands.

(ii) Serious blame was attached by the Board to Dangar,

a public officer employed in the Surveyor-General's Department, for not only reserving and appropriating to himself and his brother, in an improper manner, large tracts of the richest and best watered lands in the District in which he acted as Public Surveyor, but also for making highly irregular purchases of Government Orders for land from Messrs. Dunn and Rapsey before such land had been located to or even selected by those individuals — it appears by reference to Map No. 1, that posterior to his purchase of the Orders in question from those persons, he measured off the land he had so purchased, immediately adjoining to what he had appropriated to himself and his brother, inserting on the map the names

22. The dispute is recorded in *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. XIII., pp. 149, 156, 287; Vol. XIV., p. 685; and in the enclosures to Governor Darling's despatches in the Mitchell Library.

of Dunn and Rapsey as if they themselves had been actually and bona fide put into possession of it, and thus by an irregular and clandestine transaction, he attempted to monopolise for himself a still greater extent of the richest alluvial land to the total exclusion of the Complainant and others, who had a just and preferable right to select their lands in that situation. The purchase also of the Orders for the land in question, before the Individuals holding those Orders had either selected or obtained possession of this land was in direct violation of all the salutary Regulations under which land has hitherto been granted by Government.

(iii) The Board had no doubt that there had been some splitting of the sectional lines dividing the grants, as shown on the maps, which was in direct opposition to the ruling of Governor Darling and the Home Government that the land was to be divided into 640-acre blocks exactly. The whole of this piece of surveying had been carried out in Darling's time, and was therefore subject to his ruling.

(iv) The Board summed up by stating :

On taking a deliberate view therefore of the whole of the case, it appears to be clear beyond all doubt that the conduct of Mr. Henry Dangar, throughout the whole of the proceedings, has been reprehensible in the extreme, and it would be holding out a very proper example to the other surveyors who now are or may hereafter be employed in that Department, if the Government came to the resolution depriving him of the whole of the lands he had so improperly appropriated to himself at Hunter's River, with the exception of his reserve of 1300 acres, which, it has already been determined upon he should receive there, permitting him to make his selection of the rest of the land ordered, in some other district with the survey and distribution of the lands in which he is totally unconnected.

(v) The Board also suggested that William Dangar should not suffer for his brother's misconduct, and that he should therefore be allowed to select the 2800 acres ordered by grant or purchase by Governor Brisbane after Mr Macqueen's agent had selected his. It was also suggested that Henry Dangar should be prohibited from transferring the 1300 acres mentioned above to his brother.

Governor Darling added a Minute to the Report of the Land Board prior to sending it to the Home Government as an enclosure to his Despatch No. 39 dated March 14, 1827. In this Minute he stated that he held that Henry Dangar's conduct had been—

so highly derogatory to his duty as a public officer as to render it imperative on the Local Government to make its disapprobation of his proceedings known by suspending him from his situation as Assistant Surveyor until the pleasure of the Secretary of State shall be known.

Darling also stated that Dangar would not be permitted to occupy or select any lands until the decision of Earl Bathurst was received, but that Peter McIntyre was to go ahead with his selection, and William Dangar after that, Henry Dangar's reserve of 1300 acres being untouched. In the covering despatch, the Governor stated his view that "Mr. Dangar has made his public situation subservient to his private views." Darling, however, felt that an object lesson was needed and Dangar was to be the victim. Thus Henry Dangar terminated his service with the Surveyor-General's Department on March 31, 1827, although the Governor stated that Dangar had sent in his resignation on January 13, at the commencement of the inquiry, hoping thereby, Darling alleged, that as a civilian he would be allowed to keep the land in question.

Dangar decided at this stage to proceed to England to present an appeal to Lord Bathurst in person, and Governor Darling notified Bathurst of the fact in his despatch of May 10, 1827, and forwarded copies of all the papers relevant to the matter.

The appeal took the form of a 32-page letter, a copy of which Darling enclosed in his Despatch No. 85, dated August 10, 1827. After stating the accusations made against himself of misappropriating lands and illegally acquiring lands through the wrongful purchase of the Land Orders of Messrs Dunn and Rapsey, Dangar set out his defence.

In regard to the misappropriation of lands, he denied the allegation completely. He stated that Peter McIntyre, John Oxley and he met at Newcastle in July, 1826, to discuss the matter of land selection, and the meeting had been an amicable one. The selection of each of the parties had been sketched on a map to the complete satisfaction of all. The allegation that Dangar had claimed for himself a larger extent some two months earlier than this was denied, and Dangar drew attention also to the fact that no protest about any such allocation had been made by McIntyre at the meeting. Dangar claimed that he had properly selected his 2000 acres and paid the requisite £50 deposit on the land, although no specific area was mentioned on the receipt, as the parishes in that district had not then been named.

In connexion with the purchase of the Land Orders,

he stated that the one of 800 acres given to William Dunn by Governor Brisbane was in return for taking Divine Service in the district where no clergyman was available. Dangar took the view that as Dunn had already been in the district, the usual regulation concerning the alienation of the land did not apply. The acquiring of the Land Order was also the repayment of a loan from Dangar to Dunn. Dangar also stated that he had brought the matter before the Surveyor-General at the time, and he took that as a sign of his good faith and his certainty that no regulations were being broken.

Dangar then answered an allegation that he had tried to bribe Peter McIntyre. It appears that Dangar addressed a letter to McIntyre on July 4, 1826, in which he drew the latter's attention to the fact that, although Dangar had originally selected and consequently had a proper claim to the point of land lying north of the junction of Dart Brook with the Hunter River, yet there was some unallocated land available on the northernmost boundary of this area, and he was willing to waive his claim to the former area in favour of McIntyre if the latter agreed not to select or become possessed of the unallocated land alluded to. Although McIntyre claimed that this was a bribe, Dangar denied this, and claimed it was a concession much more to the benefit of Peter McIntyre than himself.

He then alleged certain irregularities over the Land Board Inquiry, which were detrimental to his interests. He stated, as mentioned before, that he had not been allowed to speak in his own defence at the inquiry, and that when he had attempted to do so he had been put outside. He also expressed surprise at the absence of the Surveyor-General, the responsible land officer, at the inquiry. He stated that his requests for a public inquiry had been ignored, and that when he had been informed of certain findings of the Board he had asked to be allowed access to the full report, but this was denied him.

Why, he asked Lord Bathurst, should he have a double punishment for his alleged offence ? Why should he be both dismissed from office and deprived of his lands as well ? The proceedings of the case, he claimed, "have been marked with such singularity and unprecedented

harshness. The Governor had been influenced by "the most base, malicious and cowardly misrepresentation."

In support of his appeal, Dangar enclosed a letter from him to John Oxley, and a copy of one from Oxley to the Colonial Secretary, Macleay. In the first, written on April 10, 1827, just after the Land Board Inquiry had finished, Dangar complains that McIntyre was indefinite and uncertain about what he wanted. Owing "to the indecisions of his own mind, his choice so frequently changed that had his wishes been complied with it would have been impossible for any other party to have taken land within several miles of the country he had inspected."

This is further borne out by Oxley's letter to Macleay, in which he speaks of McIntyre's complaints as containing "so much irrelevant matter and so extremely voluminous that it is with much difficulty I can bring the principal points under His Excellency's notice so as to give a clear view of Mr. McIntyre's case." Oxley then proceeds to defend Dangar's actions in the matter. He supports the claim that no protests were made at the Newcastle meeting. He also draws attention to the fact that the map referred to then was a sketch map and could not be considered as being absolutely accurate, particularly as the source of the Hunter River was not known then. Hence, there would naturally be slight differences in the sectional lines when the later accurate map came to be drawn. With regard to the alleged bribe to McIntyre, Oxley admits that "Mr. Dangar, as a surveyor, acted irregularly and improperly, but not corruptly."

Later, Oxley wrote a testimonial for Dangar, which the Governor forwarded to the Home Government in 1829. In it Oxley wrote :—

He has performed his duties with zeal and in the most efficient and correct manner, and afforded no occasion, within my knowledge, in the execution of arduous and perplexing duties for censure and complaint against his public conduct. His private conduct has been quite unexceptional, and he has served during the above period with ability and credit.

Before leaving this matter, it is worthwhile stressing two aspects of the matter. The first is that Dangar was following the actions of others in the same situation. He was in no way creating a precedent. The control over the Civil Service had been lax for some time, and many minor (and some major) irregularities had been allowed

to creep in. The easy-going methods of Governor Brisbane had been no check on this. But with the arrival of Darling things had changed, and Dangar was therefore, to some extent, a victim of circumstances. This does not detract from the fact that Dangar disobeyed regulations. But others had done so before, quite openly and without reprimand, and no doubt Dangar, being away in the country surveying for such long periods, did not realize the new state of affairs in the colony, and was therefore righteously indignant, even to the point of losing self-control, when he was brought to heel.

The second aspect worth stressing is Dangar's repeated insistence that he acted with the full knowledge of his superior officer, Surveyor-General Oxley. Oxley was with him when the meeting with McIntyre was held. The matter of the purchase of Dunn's Land Order was specifically referred to him, and all maps and field books prepared by Dangar were returned to the Surveyor-General's office for Oxley's observation. It would appear then that Oxley knew of Dangar's actions and condoned them. The readiness with which he defended Dangar is illustrative of this. Who then was really responsible, the servant or the master ?

The Governor held the servant responsible and no reprimand to Oxley has been recorded, so towards the end of 1827, probably in August, Henry Dangar sailed for England to present and press his appeal in person, leaving his concerns in New South Wales in the hands of his brother William.

THE HUNTER RIVER DIRECTORY.

Although the main purpose of Dangar's visit to England was to appeal against Darling's judgment on him, yet this energetic worker could not waste even the time he was at sea, but spent it in compiling a book, *Index and Directory to the Hunter River and Emigrants' Guide*, to give it its shortened title. In the preface, headed "At Sea, September 1827," he tells his readers that the book was written to beguile the tedious hours of a long sea voyage. The completed effort was published by Joseph Cross of Holborn, London, in 1828.

The author explains that he feels that previous works published on New South Wales are lacking in information

on the subjects of emigration and of the receiving of land from the Crown by grant or by purchase. This deficiency he hopes to supply in his volume, which is put forward under the patronage of the Surveyor-General, John Oxley, although that gentleman did not live long enough to see the work finished.

No one in the colony was better qualified than Henry Dangar to undertake the compilation of a Hunter River *Directory*, for he knew the district from end to end. Nevertheless, he mentions that the results of the work of the Crown Surveyors, Messrs Finch and Ralfe, as well as that of the Australian Agricultural Society's agent and surveyor, all helped to make the book possible.

A frontispiece giving a view of King's Town, or Newcastle, and two maps—one of the township and another of the Hunter Valley—are included for the benefit of intended emigrants. The Hunter Valley map is dedicated to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, former Governor of the colony.

The book begins with lists of the grants and appropriations of land in the Counties of Northumberland, Durham and Roxburgh, and the allocation of allotments in Newcastle township. The acreage, quit rent, redemption value and dates of grants are set out with full explanatory notes.

Dangar then explains the conditions governing land grants and land purchase under both the Macquarie and Brisbane regimes, and those now in force under Governor Darling. He shows the changes which may lead the unwary into pitfalls, and explains the average cost of feeding and clothing the convict servants assigned to free settlers, a cost which he estimates at £20 per annum.

The amount of clearing and cultivation expected to be done with grants of various sizes are then mentioned, and the thorny question of the sale before a prescribed time of land granted to settlers (i.e., alienation) is explained and Governor Brisbane's order on the matter stated clearly.

The next section of the book gives a description of the counties, parishes, rivers, harbours and roads of the colony, without any attempt being made to glamorize or to delude intending settlers.

After discussing the new land regulations of Governor Darling and pointing out what he considers the weaknesses of them, Dangar concludes his volume with a description of the unappropriated lands available to new settlers, and gives an account of the state of agriculture in the colony with the help, or otherwise, farmers may expect from the Government. Included in this is an account of the activities of the Australian Agricultural Company and an interesting record of a Farmers' Club run by Hunter Valley settlers.

Criticism of Darling's regime leads Dangar to suggest, in his conclusions, that from want of protective duties agriculture is being allowed to sink into ruin.

Copies of this book are now relatively scarce, but, for a student of Australian history, a study of one of the complete copies in the Mitchell Library or in some private collection would prove a worthwhile effort.

(To be continued.)

Sir George Reid's Place in the Federal Movement.

By K. R. CRAMP, O.B.E., M.A. (Fellow).

(Read before the Society, August 26, 1952.)

PART I.

In an attempt to estimate correctly the place Sir George Reid held in the Federal movement (1891-1901), one skates over thin ice and subjects himself to the criticism of many whose views of the man, his character, motives, influence and the value of his public utterances may vary substantially from the writer's own. I preface my survey, therefore, by admitting at the outset that there may be ample scope for differences of opinion as to Reid's political merits. I am but scratching the surface of my subject, especially as I shall keep within the limitations suggested by the title of this article. I refrain from presenting a life sketch of Reid or a broad view of the Federal movement from its earliest suggestions of the 'forties and 'fifties to the close of the nineteenth century.

My story commences with 1890-91, when Reid first expressed his criticism of the views put forward by Sir Henry Parkes. At the conclusion of this discussion, some

of my readers may be prepared to admit that Reid merits a higher appraisement of his services than it is customary to accord him, and that he was indeed the protecting genius of the interests of New South Wales at a time when others of his contemporaries, in their zeal for federal realization, were prone to subordinate unduly those interests.

Few, if any, will challenge the claims of Sir Henry Parkes to be regarded as the inspiring influence of the Federal movement. He was the practical idealist, prepared to sink his cherished beliefs in a free-trade policy for New South Wales if, by so doing, the Australian people could be united in one federal bond and the "crimson thread of kinship" express itself in one nation with one destiny. None will question the consistent adherence of Sir Edmund Barton to the cause which he led to a successful issue. Prominence must be given also to Alfred Deakin, Victoria's untiring silver-tongued orator. But there is a danger that Reid's claim to recognition may be clouded by the merits of those outstanding notables, as well as by the ridicule and adverse comment to which he was subjected. He was accused of "shilly-shallying" over Federation, and of being interested in it only in so far as he could use it.¹ If there be any element of truth in this charge, at least Reid was far from being unique in using politics for personal interests; indeed, that disease is tending to become epidemic. But the statement needs qualification, for at times he jeopardized his own interests by an unswerving adherence to certain principles and views he expressed in conferences. He has been criticized for his political astuteness and "an intense determination to carve out and keep for himself the first place in New South Wales and, if possible, in Australia." Even that critic admits his intellectual power, a gleaming eye indicative of a natural gift of humour, an alertness that even his sleepiness could not defeat, a marvellous political instinct, a ready adaptability, quickness of repartee, and a rolling surge of *ad captandum*—arguments which were simply irresistible.

I am somewhat hampered when I set out to enhance the value of Reid's activities to encounter the *Bulletin's* comment : "The same old George Reid—always different."

¹ *Vide "Australian Quarterly," June, 1951 : A paper on "Federal Personalities," by Norman Cowper, based on Deakin's The Federal Story.*

Yet it is true he did appear to change front on occasions. It is my opinion, however, that, in some instances, Reid displayed a more adjustable mentality, exercised in the interests of his cause, even if on his own behalf also, than many of his fellow-politicians, who were often rigid and inflexible in their outlook, and found it difficult to yield in small matters in order to ensure success in a great movement. Where fifty minds clash in a convention, there must be some minor concessions if the great objective is to be realized. Reid often yielded in minor matters, but he could be unbending when he felt the issue demanded it. Throughout he remained the outstanding champion of New South Wales : his opportunism was often in that State's interest. What his opponents dubbed astuteness may be euphemized as keen political instinct exercised on behalf of his State. He was prepared to investigate other avenues of thought, and accept or suggest modifications of his own, if the Federal cause was brought nearer realization, provided his State would not materially suffer. In any case, it may be partly true (his advocates might say wholly true) what he himself claimed, that "he had more to do with bringing the movement into a practical shape than any other man in Australia. The movement had hopelessly broken down when he took the matter in hand."²

Nor was he the "clown" or "buffoon" to a degree proclaimed by his opponents. His buffoonery was a camouflage to capture the attention of his audience preparatory to convincing them of the argument he was employing. As an adolescent, I listened to him while, with high pitched voice, but impressive eloquence, he enthralled the crowd and silenced hostile interjection. Though a delegate in the Federal Convention accused him of wearing the "cap and bells," strong purpose, clear insight, and loyalty to New South Wales were well in evidence beneath the outfit.

Reid first appeared federally in 1891 as a critic of Parkes, who at this stage was prepared to subordinate his free-trade views to the cause of Federation. A few years later Reid followed the same course, but in 1891 he opposed certain actions then publicly advocated. This

² *Sydney Morning Herald*, May, 1898.

was apparent from his contribution to the *Nineteenth Century* journal (July, 1891). The Federal movement, he pointed out, had been neither initiated nor embraced by the people. "It is not the result of any popular agitation or interest," he wrote. "During the sittings of the Convention, the lack of public interest in this matter, even in the metropolis honoured by the presence of the delegates, was simply astonishing."

Moreover, as a free-trader, he realized that the interests of New South Wales would conflict seriously with those of the protectionist colonies, particularly Victoria. "It has become apparent," he declared, "that federal union will sound the death knell of her free-trade policy."

Thirdly, Reid read a danger signal in granting equal powers, especially in finance (taxation and appropriation), in the Senate to the colonies, as those with small populations could combine to over-ride the will of the two more populous colonies. This, to him, was the negation of democratic control. His criticism was thus expressed :—

The delegates [i.e., of the 1891 Convention] railed at Responsible Government to an astonishing degree. . . . The bulk of the people of New South Wales and Victoria look upon Responsible Government as the corner-stone of public liberties. I believe that the people of New South Wales will never accept a constitution less democratic in its character than the unwritten rule of their own practice which gives our Legislative Assembly the power of the House of Commons over money bills. That must be in black and white in the new Constitution, probably before they will accept it.

The bill to establish a Federal Constitution, he protested, was in important respects not founded on principles just to the several colonies. The smaller colonies would score over the larger. New South Wales was being sacrificed; its interests in its railways, rivers, irrigation and water conservation plans were unrecognized.

Fourthly, the Governor-General was to be given too much power independently of his Ministers. Executive power should lie, Reid said, not with the Governor-General merely, but with "Governor-General with the advice of the Executive Council," just as it was in the colonies at that time. This defect in the 1891 bill, he wrote, would probably wreck it in the two larger colonies.

Other weaknesses in the 1891 Draft, Reid pointed out, were :—

The Governor-General's power to return bills to Parliament for amendment; the absence of provision for terminating disputes

between the two legislative houses so as to provide against deadlocks; the absence of stipulation that ministers should sit in Parliament and be responsible to the House of Representatives; the refusal to grant electors the right to choose the Senators, and the conferring of that right on the State Parliaments, some of which had nominated Councils; and the uncertainty as to the location of the seat of government, which was to be chosen by Parliament.

Reid argued that "the centre of power should be in some great centre within the reach of public scrutiny and controls as a safeguard against lobbyists and syndicates."³ Above all, he feared that Federation would prove the death-knell of free-trade.

In 1891, therefore, Reid declared the federal question was not urgent. The colonies would continue to exist separately with less inconvenience than any other group of communities in existence, because each one had its own seaboard of several hundreds of miles to facilitate world intercourse and trade. "Whatever may be said of the advantages of union in the future," he declared, "there can be no doubt of the progress of the colonies without it."

As an outcome of the 1891 Convention, notions about Australian federation had considerably crystallized. As Quick and Garran wrote : "On 2nd March, Australian Federation was a misty abstraction; on 31st March it had definite outlines and a practical policy."⁴ Parkes had conceded equal State representation in the Senate provided the House of Representatives controlled finance and the Executive. He had also consented to the fiscal problem being left unconditionally to the Australian people to decide, as that problem was of less importance than the question of federation. This was the view Reid was to adopt a few years later, but not in 1891, when, sensing that his free-trade philosophy would have short shrift in a united Australia, he compared New South Wales to a teetotaller who contemplated keeping house with five drunkards. "I will not put my principle of free-trade," he asserted, "in the power of the Victorian protectionists."

Even as early as May, 1890, Reid said :—

I do not want any half-and-half free-trade. I cannot tamper with protection. . . . I am not prepared to erect barriers across Port Jackson against the world—to turn my back on the Mother

³ Norman Cowper ("Federal Personalities") in the *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1891; and Reid's *My Reminiscences*, in the chapter on "The Australasian National Convention."

⁴ Quick and Garran, p. 136.

Country—to give up the whole loaf of freedom for the half-loaf of inter-colonial freedom. I am not prepared to do this for federation.⁵ He favoured a federation of limited powers, but not a complete federation as in Canada or U.S.A.

On these lines Reid criticized the bill when it was discussed by the Legislative Assembly in Sydney. It is worthy of note that he did not oppose the bill as strenuously as J. H. Want, who declared federation to be "a fashionable fad." What Reid urged was that federal union must be "on principles just to the several colonies (that meant New South Wales in particular); that the Senate's power must be restricted in the interests of Responsible Government; that New South Wales railways and river systems must be independent of federal control unless the obligations in respect of them were also assured. We are not prepared to give our railways," he said, "as the rivalry of trade would be just as keen after federation, and New South Wales has most to lose."

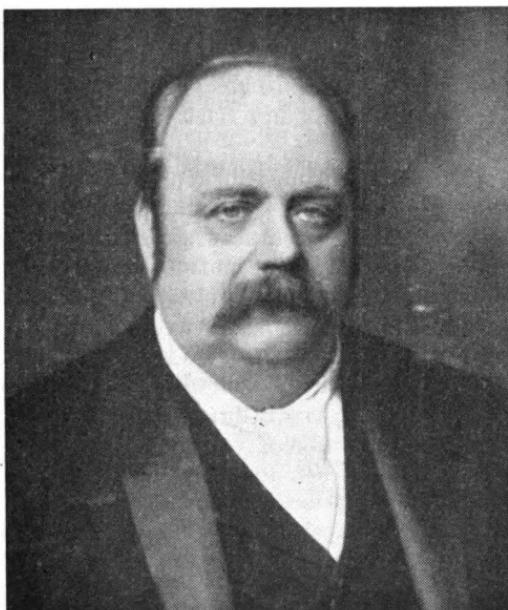
Despite the jibe, "The same old George Reid—always different!" it must be admitted that on these points at least he was as consistently emphatic in 1897-9 as he was in 1891.

To what extent Reid would admit in 1891 that Australian united military and naval defence was essential is not clear. Probably he thought that the six separate colonial forces, backed up by British might, would adequately meet the demands of the time. Such discussions at that time were more academic than realistic. The Soudan Contingent had been the outcome of sentiment rather than of alarm; the "inaudible squeak" of Queensland when it sought to annex New Guinea for the Empire before its seizure by a foreign power produced no very resounding echo; General Edwards, in his report on our military position, recommended the consolidation of the Australian armies, but Reid in 1891 argued that Australia was not called upon to legislate in a panic as Canada had been over the "Alabama scare." Reid rang no alarm bell, and, even if he were not actually hostile to the federal concept in abstract, he was certainly hostile to the 1891 draft, so much so that Parkes dubbed him "the arch plotter against Federation" and stated that he (Reid) made no

⁵ Legislature, May, 1890.

secret of his cynical doubts, and then of his open hostility.⁶ In sarcastic vein, Parkes wrote : "Mr. Reid was as fluent as a waterspout after a heavy rain; but his speech was barren of thought, and, where not vituperative, simply dull." I cannot imagine Reid being dull.

Allowance must be made for these statements by Parkes, as at that time personal relationships between the two were strained. At the same time, too, we must accept Reid's statement that he had worked loyally to keep Parkes in office as long as he kept the Free-trade flag flying, though



SIR GEORGE REID.

he never accepted office under the veteran. It is worthy of note that, on Parkes' retirement from the leadership of the Liberal Party in October, 1891, Reid was elected as his successor on the nomination of B. R. Wise and the veteran's own son, Varney Parkes,⁷ and it is even stated that Parkes himself made complimentary reference to Reid's leadership. It is pleasing to learn that a recon-

⁶ Parkes : *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History*, Vol. II., p. 373.

⁷ Reid : *My Reminiscences*.

ciliation was later effected between these two exponents of Free-trade and Federation, and that Parkes confessed he had misunderstood the man.

The Parkes regime ended in 1891 with his defeat on a motion of censure, carried largely because the Labour Party, which had made its appearance that year, was opposed to the federal draft, owing to the enormous powers allowed to the Governor-General, the imperialism and military despotism in the draft, and because Parkes was neglecting local legislation for his "fad" of Federation. Naturally Parkes was disappointed and declared Parliament unfit to deal with the federal problem, because it was elected for other purposes. He therefore favoured reference to the people, who should elect a Convention. Barton at this stage had not lost his trust in a body elected by the Parliaments.

Reid's modified attitude towards the federal question was apparent in 1892. His critics attributed the change to his astute opportunism; others stated it was due to his conviction that federal consummation was possible without a heavy sacrifice of his fiscal views, and to the fact that he was travelling along the same avenue of thought that his great predecessor had traversed before him, so that eventually he, too, admitted that Federation meant more than free-trade to the Australian people.

Probably both groups of critics were right. In the Legislature in 1892 he recommended the calling of another Convention. He wrote :—

Two and a half years ago, I must confess I did feel that rushing forward the federal project meant inevitably the adoption of a protective policy throughout the length and breadth of Australia. I am happy to say that since that time events have enabled me to take a much more sanguine view of the possibilities of the case.⁸

Sir Joseph Abbott, a few months later, referred to Reid, having repented of his sins, as "staunch, earnest and loyal to the cause of Federation at the present time." Indeed, after consideration of the trend of Reid's expressed views throughout the three sessions of the National Convention, substantial credence must be given to his defence of himself when he said :—

The only point on which I became obstinate is the point when I believe that the Convention is getting on a track which will lead to disaster. I am prepared to trust Federation in the largest

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

possible way, but I cannot get beyond what I believe are the limits of moderation. Still less can I get beyond the limits which will be supported [i.e., tolerated] by the people of this country.⁹

I do not think, therefore, that the couplet, unqualified, quite fairly, applies to Reid :—

“A merciful Providence fashioned us holler;
O' purpose, that we might our principles swaller !”¹⁰

Popular interest in the question was steadily growing, largely because of the influence of the Australian Natives' Association and the Federation Leagues in Sydney and elsewhere. These bodies were non-party, non-class organizations keen to provoke Parliament to action. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the honorary secretary of the Sydney League and of the New South Wales branch of the A.N.A., Edward Dowling, also played an active part as a Foundation Councillor in the establishment of the (Royal) Australian Historical Society.

The Conference at Corowa in 1893 quickened interest.

In 1894, Reid defeated Parkes in the King (East Sydney) electorate, despite the latter's appeal to the electors that his opponent had once declared that he would rather see Protection established than the colonies united. “What is the use of a man pretending to be in favour of union now,” said Parkes, “who uttered that sentiment four years ago ?” Reid, when elected, whimsically said, “This eye-glass has done so much for me that I am now the member for East Sydney !”¹¹ The election led him to the Premiership (August 13, 1894), when he promptly declared he would lose no time in restoring the subject of Federation to its rightful position of commanding importance and urgency. To a deputation from the Federation League, advocating Dr Quick's plan, he announced his intention to confer with the other Premiers. This he did on January 29, 1895, when he advocated a popularly elected Convention. At the Premiers' Conference he submitted and carried the following proposals :—

1. This Conference regards Federation as the great and pressing question of Australian politics.
2. A Convention of ten representatives from each colony, chosen by the electors themselves, to meet to frame a Constitution. [This had previously been suggested at Corowa by Dr Quick.]

⁹ *Adelaide Session Report*, p. 37.

¹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 6, 1898.

¹¹ Quick and Garran, pp. 157-8.

3. The Constitution, when framed, should be submitted to the popular vote.
4. If accepted by three or more colonies, the Queen should be prayed for the necessary legislation. [Corowa had suggested two or more colonies.]
5. Each colonial Parliament should be asked to pass a bill to give effect to these resolutions.

Turner (Victoria) and Kingston (South Australia) were requested to draft a bill for consideration by the Conference, and Reid undertook to introduce the draft into the New South Wales Legislature : the representatives of the other colonies were to take similar action once New South Wales had agreed to proceed with the proposal.¹²

The Legislature in Sydney accepted the proposals, but with the proviso that at least 50,000 votes (later raised to 80,000) would be requisite for the acceptance of the federal bill. An earlier but rejected proposal for an absolute majority of voters on the rolls would have required 139,000 votes in favour. W. M. Hughes' proposal that the colonies should be represented in the Convention according to their populations was, despite the Labour Party's support, rejected by 45 votes to 26.

FEDERAL CONVENTIONS : ADELAIDE, SYDNEY AND MELBOURNE.

In the Convention sessions at Adelaide (March 22 to April 23, 1897), and at Sydney and Melbourne later, five colonies were represented. Queensland dropped out, despite Reid's visit to Brisbane to exercise his persuasive powers to settle differences between the two legislative chambers. Edmund Barton, as the unadulterated embodiment of the federal spirit, secured top place in the New South Wales poll; Reid, with his New South Wales prepossessions, was placed second. Reid subsequently wrote in generous vein, or, as Deakin might have suggested, with feigned generosity : "No one could grudge Mr Barton his peculiar position on the poll—his personal and intellectual qualities were so great and his devotion to the cause of federation had been so conspicuous."¹³ The Labour Party, straining with its ten candidates to "capture the Convention," were denied a single representative, though its leader, McGowan, polled well.

At a Premiers' meeting before the opening session,

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹³ Reid : *My Reminiscences*, p. 232.

Reid, according to his own statement, proposed Barton for the leadership of the Convention, with C. C. Kingston (South Australia) and Sir R. C. Baker (South Australia) as President and Chairman of Committees respectively. Quick and Garran, however, record that Turner and Symon proposed Barton.

The story of the deliberations of the Convention is too long to be epitomized in this article. Only those outstanding matters on which Reid focussed his attention will be touched upon. It is of interest to read Deakin's thumbnail sketch of Reid, at Adelaide, whom he describes as "the most conspicuous figure of the Convention, its official author and, in matters of moment, its leader."¹⁴ He wrote :—

Reid was the author of the Convention, Premier of the greatest colony, the best platform speaker, rejoicing in platitudes of liberality and large-heartedness, revelling in quip and jest in private, where he was always a jolly good fellow, as well as in public, and thus monarch of all he surveyed, inhaling perpetual incense of flattery and winding the majority around his fingers as he pleased. Although he was neither President nor leader of the Convention in Adelaide, he was at once its master and its most popular member, admired and trusted by all the delegates except a few of his colleagues from New South Wales, who even then admitted his ability and powers.¹⁵ At later sessions Reid lost much of his pre-eminent influence because of his ambition—so Deakin declared—to wrest the leadership from Barton, his federal wavering and his lack of constitutional constructiveness. But despite his lack of prestige in the later sessions, Deakin still placed him in the first rank of influence at the close of the Convention.¹⁶

It will be of interest to at least one half of the community to learn that Reid was concerned with the right of women to a voice in political matters. The Womanhood Suffrage League, presenting their plea for the suffrage, quoted his pamphlet, *Outlook of Federation*, in which he stated : "In this matter the taxpayers have much more at stake than the politicians, and women are taxpayers." Contrast that sentiment with a Tasmanian petition objecting to female suffrage on the ground that "God gave man the sole right to rule."

Reid's first address in the Convention pleaded for a

¹⁴ Deakin : *The Federal Story*, p. 60.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 76.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 88.

national rather than a parochial outlook. He pictured the six colonies in one island and a vast continent with marked diversity in revenue, population and development, a coastline of 8,000 miles with from 500 to 1,000 miles separating the capital cities, varying fiscal policies, danger of war at any time, and a country too undeveloped to predict where its ultimate greatness would rest. He urged the colonies to forget their boundaries (though he did not always adjust himself to his own counsel) and refrain from attempting to snatch good bargains at one another's expense. Their task was to evolve a system of government suitable to all the colonies.¹⁷ With the large affairs of Australia centralized in a federation, local concerns could be placed upon an infinitely more sound economic basis. Federation, he once declared, meant economy, not extravagance. I myself heard him predict that Federation would cost the individual citizen no more than the price of a dog tax—2/6. In 1897 Reid estimated that federal expenditure would amount to just over £3,000,000, of which £1 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions would come from transferred services. Yet in 1952 just over 8,000,000 citizens are expected to raise £1,000 million for governmental purposes.

Reid must have impressed the Convention, as Clarke (Tasmania) said : "When Mr Reid or Mr Deakin speak, they cannot help being eloquent."

The name to be given to the second House was discussed. Barton favoured the term, "States' Assembly"; but Reid supported the suggestion that it be called "Senate," since it was to represent, not just State rights or provincial interests, but also the whole nation.

In respect to the two Houses, the House of Representatives would consist of members elected in proportion to the population in each State; the Senate would represent the States on a footing of equality, so that Tasmania with its population of 182,000 would have the same number of Senators as New South Wales with its 1,348,000. If one argued the inequality of this, the answer was, firstly, that the House of Representatives sufficed to safeguard the democratic principle of equal value for each elector's vote; and, secondly, if the larger States had not conceded the principle of State equality in the Senate, the smaller States would not have entered the Federation. Reid supported

¹⁷ *Adelaide Session Report*, p. 268.

this principle, and also the principle of equality of the two Houses in other matters than taxation and appropriation, in order to induce the smaller colonies to accept the Federal Constitution. "We cannot do business," he said, "without equal representation in the Senate; therefore I vote for it. . . . It is a necessity in the Federation; therefore I say no more about it."

The number of members for each House had to be determined. There was general agreement as to the rate of two to one in the numerical strength of the two Houses, but Reid contended against a large House of Representatives. He said at Adelaide :—

I have all along wished to limit the number of members of the House of Representatives. I have no wish to see it growing to an inordinate size. . . . As long as the House of Representatives is twice as numerous as the Senate, I think that is sufficient difference. I believe the smaller number work better than the larger one.

At the Sydney session he said :—

We had better at once get rid of the fallacy that the influence of a house depends upon its numbers. . . . So long . . . as you have great powers, the fewer the number of persons who exercise them the greater power those persons will have. The force in politics is not according to numbers. I often think that the more powerful body is that body which, having power, has the smaller number of men to fritter them away.¹⁸

Incidentally, it may be observed that Reid voted with the minority against the proposal of each State constituting a single electorate for the election of Senators.

On the question of the relative powers of the two Houses, there was marked differences of opinion which revealed the cleavage between the smaller and larger colonies. A clause originally provided that "the Senate shall have equal powers with the House of Representatives in respect of all proposed laws except laws appropriating the necessary supplies for the ordinary annual services which the Senate may affirm or reject, but may not amend." The smaller colonies hoped to exploit their equality of representation in the Senate so as to hold the larger States in check, particularly in the control of taxation, and so they argued for equality of legislative powers for the two Houses. Sir John Forrest (Western Australia) on more than one occasion, and, unwisely it seems to me, boasted for the smaller States, "We have a majority."

¹⁸ *Sydney Session Report*, p. 4436.

Western Australia, South Australia and Tasmania with eighteen Senators could outvote New South Wales and Victoria with twelve (Queensland still held aloof from the Convention). Reid asserted that to give equal rights in taxation to the Senate was undemocratic, as the revenue would come mainly from the two larger States, and the Senate would have undue control over taxation. The Senate should not have the power, as demanded by Western Australia, to amend tax measures. As all the people of Australia are subject to taxation, it is the peculiar right of their representatives to prescribe the form in which they shall be taxed and also to dispose of moneys from taxation. To Western Australians, Reid declared : "This is a point on which we, representing the larger population, cannot give way." He had conceded State equality in the Senate so as not to wreck the federal project, so he urged, "You must in return consider the points which would wreck us." In money bills there can be but one responsible House, namely, the House of Representatives, representing all the people on equal terms. Any attempt to create two would lead to disaster. For that reason the Senate should not be empowered to amend or even to suggest amendments to money bills. To protect the interests of the smaller States the Senate might be allowed to reject money bills, but nothing more. Reid therefore proposed that the clause be amended, so as to forbid the Senate from amending laws imposing taxation, as well as appropriating the necessary supplies.

Kingston supported Reid, as equality between the two Houses spelt the forfeiture of Responsible Government.

Nevertheless, at one stage the Convention decided to allow the Senate to amend tax bills. Reid, however, at a re-opening of the question, moved to disallow this, though he would allow the Senate to accept in toto or reject such measures. Both he and Sir George Turner (Victoria) made it clear that if this amending power were granted to the Senate, the larger colonies would not accept the Constitution. Accordingly Reid's amendment was eventually carried by 25 to 23 votes after "the most momentous vote in the Convention's history."¹⁹

A later effort by Western Australia to reverse this

¹⁹ Quick and Garran.

decision was defeated by 28 to 19 votes. The Senate was denied the power to amend annual appropriation bills, but granted limited powers to amend other appropriations, but so as not to increase charges or burdens on the people.

CONTROL OF RIVERS.

One of the most contentious subjects before the Convention had reference to the control of rivers. The main river system of the continent lies almost entirely within New South Wales. The Darling, Lachlan and Murrumbidgee and their tributaries, except for the intermittent connexion of the Queensland watercourses, Paroo, Culgoa and Warrego, are completely in New South Wales. The Murray, which receives the combined waters, is also in the mother colony, though its southern tributaries are Victorian. Nevertheless, the fact that the Murray-Darling system terminates its flow in South Australian territory, produced a problem, and the southern colony urged federal jurisdiction over these rivers on the ground that they belonged to Australia and not to a State. Its delegates, through J. A. Gordon, M.L.C., expressed a fear that water conservation projects in the parent colony might so reduce the Murray stream as to render it relatively useless for navigation in their province. Gordon pressed for federal control, not only of the Murray flowing between the two colonies, New South Wales and Victoria, but also of the Darling, Lachlan and Murrumbidgee. In short, South Australia aimed at federal maintenance and improvement of these rivers for navigation purposes.

Reid was consistently strenuous in his opposition throughout all three sessions, as his State required her own rivers for conservation and irrigation. He ironically described the New South Wales inland river system as "the catchment area of South Australia." He remarked with some feeling :—

The desire of Mr Gordon to assume control of New South Wales is no new desiring, as ever since he appeared at a Convention he has been endeavouring to secure as much of New South Wales as he can. We have very little water in New South Wales, and what we have we wish to keep. I have no objection, as far as water flowing between two States is concerned, to the Federal Parliament having control, as it would put an end to difficulties which arise between two colonies at present in connection with the waters and the fisheries, but I must repudiate any idea of the Commonwealth assuming control of a river which is wholly in one colony.

To satisfy all parties, the Convention decided that the Federal Government should control navigation on the Murray from Albury to the sea. Even this decision was altered at the later session, and the States and residents retained rights to a reasonable use of the waters for conservation. When South Australia persisted at the Melbourne session in asking the Commonwealth to take over "the control and regulation of the navigation of the Murray and its tributaries and the use of the waters thereof," Reid fought shy of the last phrase. He was content that the Commonwealth should control trade and commerce on the Murray, even though that involved some control over the river itself. "For every inch of water navigable in New South Wales and capable of being used for inter-colonial trade we give up any pretence to exclusive control." On that river he would even allow the Commonwealth to interfere with the draining off of water for irrigation improvements. But the Darling, Lachlan and Murrumbidgee

are of vital consequence to the population of New South Wales, as three-quarters of New South Wales depend on these rivers for its water supply and irrigation. If, then, these rivers are to be handed over to federal authority, New South Wales would be handing over a power over our internal domestic affairs at a vital point which I fear our people will not be in a mood to accept. New South Wales' vital interests would be federalized in a way that affects us as no other colony is being affected.

The proposal was not federal in spirit, as it suggested federal control over a bit of the Commonwealth that affected South Australia instead of making such control over the continent.

Reid went on to point out that South Australia had nought to fear, as the attitude of New South Wales in the past had been neither hostile nor anti-neighbourly. It had cleared the Darling of snags, and South Australian commerce had benefited. He said :—

We have already given control and regulation of the Murray, a not ungenerous act on the part of New South Wales, as the bed of the Murray is in New South Wales. But you are asking that a country should be deprived of the whole of its water system, and that, despite the fact that New South Wales has kept the river free for the barges of South Australia, and has not charged one penny toll or licence.²⁰

²⁰ *Melbourne Session Report*, p. 91.

In the western district the land had become fertile owing to the expenditure of a large amount of capital and industry by means of works of conservation and irrigation. If settlers were not protected as to the use of the water, it would debar practical men from embarking their capital on this land.

All the New South Wales delegation, including Sir William Lyne, who seldom sided with Reid, was behind its Premier on this question. Barton's argument in support was that to take from the settlers the use of the waters in New South Wales, and to hand to another authority the power to diminish the application of water to the land, was practically taking over the land also. Isaacs took a similar view when he said :—

I am in favour of putting irrigation before navigation. . . . If we place the navigation of the Murray and of the Darling before irrigation, we may be doing a great wrong against the future development of the continent.

To accept his view would be to enhance the chance of a successful poll for Federation.

Reid returned to the charge by quoting international authorities. Wheaton, in his *International Law*, declared that a State's territory includes lakes, seas and rivers entirely enclosed within its limits. Imperial Statute 18 and 19 Victoria, Cap. 54, Section 5, declared the whole watercourse of the Murray from its source to the South Australian border to be within New South Wales. Angell, another authority, declared the soil carried by the water and the water itself to be included in such grant. Then Reid continued :—

The rivers are the most precious possessions we have over three-fourths of New South Wales. Without these possessions the country must continue to be a mere sheep-walk, not because of barrenness of soil, but because a supply of water is the one condition upon which the development depends.

He stressed the injustice which would be inflicted on land owners who had bought millions of acres with water frontages. At the Melbourne session he stated : "People will not engage in large schemes of water conservation if they know that any day in the year somebody superior to them and beyond their control can destroy the fruits of their industry." He emphatically declared : "We will not hand over the actual physical control of the River Darling or River Murrumbidgee, because they both

absolutely belong to us.''²¹ He would, however, concede "unfettered and absolute equality of navigation as between ourselves and all the other colonies. We are prepared to concede perfect equality in the use of our rivers to the whole Commonwealth when they are navigable.'²²

Strong support came from Sir John Forrest, who stated that if he were a representative of New South Wales he would take up the same attitude as the New South Wales delegates, as the great river system was the life blood of their country. Forrest pointed out :—

Nearly the whole of New South Wales is dependent, and will be dependent in the future, if this great country is to carry the population which we all expect it will carry, upon the great river system which fortunately it possesses. . . . It will be far better for this continent that the river system should be used in order to fertilize the lands through which it passes than that it should be used for any other purpose.²³

The outcome of the discussion was the defeat of Glynn's (South Australia) proposed amendment to hand over the control of the navigability of the rivers to the Commonwealth (18 votes to 24). The federal control over the rivers agreed to at Adelaide was withdrawn, and Reid's amendment preserving State rights and residents' rights to a reasonable use of the river waters for conservation and irrigation was adopted. The word "reasonable" was inserted on the suggestion of Sir John Downer (South Australia). In short, the Convention realized that irrigation and conservation, being essential for production, were infinitely more important than river navigation, which provided only for carriage.

A South Australian delegate accused Reid of being a traitor to the federal cause, but Reid's reply was effective. He said :—

There is no one in the Convention who can have a larger interest in the success of this enterprise than the one who originated it—who I happen to be. This Convention—and I am forced to make the remark on account of the ungenerous statement—owes its existence quite as much to me as to any other man in it. It is not at all probable, therefore, that I should like to see the labours of this enterprise come to nothing, because no man could have a more justifiable pride in their success than I have.²⁴

²¹ *Melbourne Session Report*, p. 196.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 446.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 518.

²⁴ This is a reference to the Premiers' Conference of 1895.

This claim is justifiable to a degree, because though Barton, Deakin and others prepared the soil for the sowing, it was Reid who did the sowing in initiating the Premiers' Conference leading to the Convention, and helped substantially to reap the harvest in the form of a Constitution that would meet with the approval of the electors of New South Wales. His persistence, when others would have succumbed, ensured such a harvest.

(To be continued.)

N.S.W. Military Commandants, 1865-1953.

By G. A. KING (Member of Council).

At Victoria Barracks at Paddington (Sydney), in the offices of the G.O.C. Eastern Command, Lieutenant-General F. H. Berryman, are three boards on which are recorded the names of the Commandants in New South Wales from 1865 to the present date.

Through the courtesy of General Berryman, I was supplied with a copy of the names inscribed on the boards, and the publication of the record forms a historical companion to the article on the Soudan Contingent Memorial printed in Vol. XXXVIII., Part VI., pp. 284 *et seq.* of the Society's *Journal*.

There is a distinct link between the Soudan Contingent Memorial and the list of Commandants, inasmuch as the first name on Board No. 1 is that of Major-General J. S. Richardson, who commanded the Soudan Contingent.

At the time of going to the Soudan in 1885, Major-General Richardson held the rank of Colonel, and was promoted to the rank of Major-General on August 15, 1885 —two months after his return from the Soudan.

Board No. 1.**NEW SOUTH WALES COMMANDANTS.**

Major-General	J. S. Richardson, C.B.	17/2/1865 —25/1/1882
Colonel	C. F. Roberts, C.M.G. (Actg.)	26/1/1882 —22/3/1883
Lieutenant-Colonel	W. B. Christie	23/3/1882 —28/1/1883
Major-General	J. S. Richardson, C.B.	29/1/1883 —9/12/1892
Colonel	W. W. Spalding, C.M.G. (Actg.)	31/8/1892 —28/5/1893
Major-General	E. T. A. Hutton, C.B., A.D.C.	29/5/1893 —5/3/1896
Colonel	C. F. Roberts, C.M.G.	6/3/1896 —2/4/1896
Major-General	G. A. French, C.M.G., R.A.	3/4/1896 —31/12/1901
Colonel	H. Finn	1/1/1902 —28/2/1904
Colonel (Temp. Brigadier-General)	H. Finn	1/3/1904 —15/11/1904
Colonel	A. W. Waddell, V.D. (Temp.)	16/11/1904 —31/1/1905
Brigadier-General	J. M. Gordon, C.B.	1/2/1905 —25/4/1910
Colonel	C. M. Ranchaud, V.D. (Adm.)	20/11/1908 —19/5/1909
Colonel	E. T. Wallack, C.B.	26/4/1910 —26/7/1910
Brigadier-General	J. M. Gordon, C.B.	27/7/1910 —10/5/1912
Colonel	E. T. Wallack, C.B.	11/5/1912 —31/10/1915
Colonel (H/Brigadier-General)	G. Ramaciotti, V.D.	1/11/1915 —15/2/1917
Colonel (Temp. Brigadier-General)	G. L. Lee, D.S.O.	16/2/1917 —27/3/1920
Colonel	J. H. Bruche, C.B., C.M.G.	28/3/1920 —30/4/1921

Board No. 2.**NEW SOUTH WALES DISTRICT BASE COMMANDANTS.**

Colonel	Wallace Brown	1/5/1921 —30/6/1922
Colonel (H/Major-General)	G. H. Brand, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.	1/7/1922 —31/12/1925
Major-General	J. H. Bruche, C.B., C.M.G.	1/1/1926 —31/5/1927
Lieutenant-Colonel	H. J. C. Taylor, D.S.O. (Adm.)	28/5/1927 —8/9/1927
Lieutenant-Colonel	J. L. Hardie, D.S.O., O.B.E. (Adm.)	11/6/1928 —30/6/1928
Colonel (Temp.)	J. L. Hardie, D.S.O., O.B.E. (Adm.)	21/4/1929 —17/11/1929
Brigadier	F. B. Heritage, C.B.E., M.V.O.	23/7/1929 —31/12/1932
Colonel (H/Brigadier-General)	O. F. Phillips, C.M.G., D.S.O.	1/2/1933 —31/7/1934
Lieutenant-Colonel	P. M. McFarlane (Adm.)	1/8/1934 —31/5/1935
Brigadier	J. L. Hardie, D.S.O., O.B.E.	1/6/1935 —30/6/1937
Major-General	J. L. Hardie, D.S.O., O.B.E.	1/7/1937 —17/10/1939

Board No. 8.**EASTERN COMMAND—GENERAL OFFICERS COMMANDING.**

Lieutenant-General	V. A. H. Sturdee, C.B.E., D.S.O.	18/10/1939—31/7/1940
Lieutenant-General	C. G. N. Miles, C.M.G., D.S.O.	1/8/1940 —18/12/1941
Lieutenant-General	H. D. Wynter, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.	19/12/1941—5/4/1942

BASE HEADQUARTERS—EASTERN COMMAND.

Major-General	A. C. Fewtrell, C.B., D.S.O., V.D.	7/1/1942 —14/4/1942
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N.S.W. LINES OF COMMUNICATIONS AREA.

Major-General	A. C. Fewtrell, C.B., D.S.O., V.D.	15/4/1942 —21/9/1943
Major-General	E. C. P. Plant, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., A.D.C.	22/9/1943 —4/3/1946

EASTERN COMMAND.

Lieutenant-General	F. H. Berryman, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.	4/3/1946 —6/2/1951
Lieutenant-General	W. Bridgeford, C.B., C.B.E., M.C.	7/2/1951 —12/11/1951
Lieutenant-General	V. C. Secombe, C.B.E.	13/11/1951—30/3/1952
Lieutenant-General	F. H. Berryman, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.	31/3/1952 —

52nd Annual Meeting.

By C. PRICE CONIGRAVE, Editor (Fellow).

The Fifty-second Annual Meeting of the Society was held at History House, 8 Young Street, Sydney, on Tuesday, February 24, 1953, at 8 p.m., when the retiring President (Mr J. K. S. Houison) presided over a large attendance.

Apologies were received from Miss Kathleen O'Connor, Major C. A. Swinbourne and Mr P. W. Gledhill.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mrs A. G. Foster (Fellow, Benefactor and President of the Women's Auxiliary) was warmly welcomed by the President, who said that Mrs Foster held the fine record of not having missed an Annual Meeting since the foundation of the Society in 1901. They all hoped, added the President, that Mrs Foster would long be spared to take an active interest in the Society.

A brief response on behalf of Mrs Foster was made by Mr Alfred E. Stephen (Vice-President).

In a short address, the operations of the Society during 1952 were reviewed by the President. Despite many difficulties due to finance and generally unsettled conditions, the Council, he thought, was to be congratulated on its conduct of the Society's affairs. This had been largely due, said Mr Houison, to the untiring and very able efforts of the Honorary Treasurer (Mr Allan E. Bax). Mr Houison thanked members for their support during his three years' occupancy of the chair, and he felt sure that the incoming President (Mr K. R. Cramp) would receive similar support. Mr Houison stressed the splendid work being done by affiliated societies in the country. He had visited many such societies, he added, and everywhere he had heard appreciation expressed of the assistance given by the parent body. Mr Houison especially thanked Mr Albert Booth for his kindness in having provided transport so as he could carry out many of his country visits.

Mr Houison praised the work of Mrs Foster and her co-workers of the Women's Auxiliary. Their splendid help, financial and otherwise, over the past years had been greatly valued. In conclusion, he referred to the various excursions arranged by the Society, and these, he was sure, had been greatly enjoyed by members.

Mr Aubrey Halloran (Fellow), in moving the adoption of the Annual Report for the year ended December 31, 1952, stressed the important standing of the Society in the community. It was to be commended for cultivating a historic sense in people. The value of the *Journal* in that regard was emphasized by Mr Halloran. Its high standard, he hoped, would always be maintained. He deplored that the Society's endeavours, with other organizations, had been unavailing in preventing the establishment of a great oil refinery in the Kurnell area, which latter, he pointed out, was the most historic spot in Australia by reason of Captain Cook's landing there in April, 1770.

In seconding the adoption of the Annual Report, Dr Harold Norrie agreed with the opinion expressed by the retiring President that the Council had done commendable work during the past year. He paid tribute to the chairmanship of Mr Houison, and to the good work carried on by the Women's Auxiliary.

The Annual Report was adopted unanimously.

The adoption of the Balance Sheet and Financial Statement for the year ended December 31, 1952, was moved by the Honorary Treasurer (Mr Allan Bax), who said that he was very optimistic as to the Society's ability to show a surplus at the end of 1953 on the year's operations. Mr Bax very clearly explained the Balance Sheet and Financial Statement to members, who enthusiastically applauded his remarks.

Mr A. T. Gover seconded the adoption, and said that he fully agreed, as a past Honorary Treasurer, with Mr Bax's remarks. He felt that Mr Bax had done a splendid job, and was to be heartily congratulated accordingly. Messrs H. R. Thompson (Councillor), R. G. H. Box (retiring Councillor), R. H. Clarke (Councillor), and Mr W. O. Rydge supported the adoption.

The Balance Sheet and Financial Statement were adopted unanimously.

The Returning Officer (Mr W. J. Dellow) then handed to the Chairman the sealed certificate covering the annual election for office-bearers and the result of the ballot count. The latter, as follows, was announced by the Chairman :—

President (unopposed) : Mr K. R. Cramp.

Vice-Presidents (unopposed) : Messrs G. D. Blaxland,

J. K. S. Houison, Alfred E. Stephen, Hugh Wright.
Honorary Secretary (unopposed) : Mr E. C. Rowland.
Honorary Treasurer (unopposed) : Mr Allan E. Bax.
Honorary Research Secretary (unopposed) : Mr James Jervis.

Council : Miss Gladys M. Blacket, Mr R. H. Clarke, Miss M. B. Coombes, Messrs William C. Cox, George Dickinson, M. H. Ellis, P. W. Gledhill, Aubrey Halloran, Mrs W. L. Havard, Messrs Arthur Horner, G. A. King, Dr H. Norrie, Mr J. T. Prentice, Major C. A. Swinboune, Mr. H. R. Thompson.

At this stage Mr J. H. S. Houison vacated the chair.

Mr K. R. Cramp assumed the chair. In doing so, he said he was proud of the confidence placed in him by members in having elected him unopposed to that position. As they knew, said Mr Cramp, for the past twenty-five years he had taken great interest in the Society's work, and he was exceedingly pleased once again, after the lapse of some years, to be President once more. He assured members that he would always use his best endeavours to further the work and influence of the Society. On behalf of members generally, Mr Cramp expressed appreciation to Mr Houison for his valuable work as President over the previous three years.

Mr Cramp's remarks were supported by Mr Alfred E. Stephen.

A vote of thanks to the Returning Officer (Mr W. J. Dellow), Assistant Returning Officers and Scrutineers for their conduct of the recent ballot was moved by Mr C. Price Conigrave, seconded by Mr R. H. Clarke and carried.

Messrs Norman B. Lewis and H. W. Mackisack were elected Honorary Auditors for the ensuing year. The meeting resolved that the best thanks of members be accorded to these gentlemen for their auditing of the Society's accounts for 1952 in an honorary capacity.

At 9.30 p.m., on the motion of Mr C. Price Conigrave, seconded by Mr Aubrey Halloran, the meeting resolved that the Annual Meeting stand adjourned until 7.45 p.m. on March 31, 1953, specific business of such adjourned meeting to be the reading of the Minutes of the Annual Meeting.

Notes and Queries.

By JAMES JERVIS, A.S.T.C. (Fellow),
Honorary Research Secretary.

Question : Would you supply details concerning the naming of Bega ?

Answer : The earliest reference traced to this name is in 1839, when Peter Imlay obtained a pasture license for a station which he called "Biggah." W. Willmington complained to Sir George Gipps in a letter dated September 16, 1844, that George Imlay had a property called "Bigga," which contained 960,000 acres (*Historical Records of Australia*, Vol. XXIII., p. 791). In the same year George Augustus Robinson, Protector of Aborigines, journeyed through the district and records that on August 29 he "crossed a succession of wooded Ranges of Granite and Sandstone and entered Biggah, singularly situated in an Amphitheatre of the Dividing Range about thirty miles from the coast. . . ." A footnote in Robinson's diary indicates that Biggah is "an aboriginal word signifying 'plain'" (*Royal Australian Historical Society's Journal*, Vol. XXVII., p. 334). Robinson also speaks of the "Biggah" tribe and the "Biggah River." In 1848, the Imlay's station is referred to in the *Government Gazette* as "Bega." *Wells' Gazetteer* (1848) mentions Bega Plains and Bega Station. In February, 1851, Assistant Surveyor Parkinson laid out a town which was gazetted on December 30, 1851, as BEGA. From what has been written above, it is obvious that the name is derived from the native language.

NOTES.

There are loud complaints to-day about the quality of bread and its price, but history is merely repeating itself. A General Order dated April 11, 1797, stated that many complaints had been received in Sydney about the exorbitant demands made by public bakers, and of "impositions practised in the quality as well as quantity of the bread returned in lieu of flour or grain delivered to them," and the Governor directed the Judge-Advocate and two other magistrates to hold a meeting to investigate "this business." In 1799 there were fresh complaints about bread, and the

inhabitants of Sydney forwarded a petition to the Governor "Expressive of the Grievances and distresses they Labour'd under relative to that Necessary Article Bread." They were "desired" to attend a meeting of officers appointed to "Search into the Cause of their Complaint," and the bakers were also "desired" to attend the meeting.

On August 2, 1801, an Ordinance was issued ordering that only one quality of wheaten bread was to be made in the colony. Bread was to be composed of meal from which only 24 pounds of bran were to be taken from each 100 pounds. A fine of £5 was to be imposed on those who disobeyed the Ordinance, and bakers were liable to have their ovens taken down in addition to being fined. The magistrates were also instructed to visit the different bake-houses at least once a week. On May 14, 1801, it was ordered that no other loaves were to be baked "than those weighing when new two pounds one ounce and two pounds when a day old." Shortly afterwards a baker's oven was taken down because the baker had sold a loaf six ounces short.

In January, 1802, another baker's oven was taken down in Sydney, and all the bread baked by the owner of the oven was forfeited to the Crown.

In November, 1802, bakers were forbidden to charge more than threepence per pound for bread made of wheat, and no person was to sell wheat at more than eight shillings per bushel.

The price of bread was fixed in August, 1804, at four-pence per two-pound loaf. It was ordered at the same time that every baker was to give his name and address to the Magistrate's Clerk.

Floods in the Hawkesbury River in 1806 destroyed much grain, and the Ordinance of May 8, 1801, was put into force again. Bakers were also required to take out licenses, and they were instructed not to deliver to those off the store ration more bread than that allowed to those on the store ration. None but regular customers were to be supplied without an order. No cake, biscuits or pastry was to be made by bakers, and the price of bread was fixed at 8½d. per two-pound loaf.

Royal Australian Historical Society

JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS.

Vol. XXXIX.

1953.

Part II.

The Society does not hold itself responsible for statements made or opinions expressed by authors of the papers published in this Journal.

The Life and Times of Henry Dangar.

By E. C. ROWLAND, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S. (Fellow).

(Read before the Society, March 25, 1952.)

PART II.

(Continued.)

IN ENGLAND.

On arrival in England, Dangar set about presenting his memorial to the Secretary of State at once. Lord Bathurst was no longer in office, his place having been taken by Mr W. Huskinsson. Dangar at once appealed to his friend, Anthony Rogers, to get him the necessary introduction. The letter to Lord Elliott this gentleman wrote has survived, and is now in the possession of Mr Neville Dangar. Most of it is worth quoting because of the light it sheds on previous help Anthony Rogers had given.

Liskeard,

January 8th, 1828.

My Lord,
The bearer of this, Mr. Henry Dangar, has been an assistant surveyor of Crown Lands in the Colony of New South Wales since the early part of 1821, he having left this neighbourhood for that Colony in the preceding year. Having been intimately acquainted with Mr. Dangar's family during a long period and feeling a desire for his welfare, I did in the latter part of the year 1822 introduce Mr. Dangar's situation to the notice of our late respected patron, the Earl of S. Germans.

The writer then records how Henry Dangar had solicited his help with the Imperial Government in aiding him to become First Assistant to the Surveyor-General, and the writer had done so through Lord Bathurst. He continues that he now learns with surprise and regret that not only was Dangar passed over, but now is in trouble over land purchases. The letter continues :—

Since the promises made to the late Earl with regard to Mr. Dangar were not acted up to, I trust it will be my sufficient excuse for introducing Mr. Dangar's case to your notice.

Mr. Dangar wishes no further place or appointment, but only that his present grievances may meet with some redress from the British Government. His services from his testimonials appear to have been conducted with such ability and zeal that if the Government can be induced to investigate the merits of Mr. Dangar's appeal upon the matter, there can be no doubt that it will appear to them that Mr. Dangar has not only been treated with unheard of harshness but with much injustice. I do therefore do myself the honour of referring Mr. Dangar's case to your Lordship's consideration.

Mr. Dangar has proceeded from New South Wales to this country purposely upon this case, and will wait upon and explain to your Lordship every particular.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble and
To the Rt. Hon. obedient servant,
Lord Elliott etc. etc. ANTHONY ROGERS.

This contact must have given Henry Dangar reasonably quick access to official circles, for on February 2 Under-Secretary Hay wrote to Governor Darling that Dangar had arrived in England and had presented his memorial. But the Secretary of State saw no reason to alter the verdict he had given to the Governor in his despatch of October 15 last in which he approved of Darling's actions.²³ The only point where Mr Huskisson was prepared to make an amendment was in the matter of the land appropriated by Dangar. If these acres had been paid for and improved on, Dangar might keep these.²⁴

Henry Dangar's plan of campaign, having now gained the official ear, seemed to be to bombard the various Government officials with correspondence. In a communication to Governor Darling, enclosing one or two of Dangar's letters, Under-Secretary Twiss ruefully adds, "These papers form a very small part of the correspondence which has taken place with Mr. Dangar since his return to this country."

From St Neot in Cornwall, Dangar wrote a letter to Under-Secretary Twiss dated November 15, 1823,²⁵ in which he refuted the charges made against him. He threw the responsibility in the matter on Oxley's shoulders, as it was under his direction he acted, and quotes Oxley's letter to

23. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. XIII., p. 552.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 779.

25. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV., pp. 528-530.

Macleay to show that the Surveyor-General felt that no misappropriation had taken place. With regard to acquiring the Land Orders, he admits he broke the regulations, but so had so many others without reprimand. He had seen "the highest officers in the colony under the Crown" doing so, and such sales sanctioned "in persons of rank by the Government." He makes a personal attack on Peter McIntyre, whom he describes as "an artful and influential adversary" using "dishonourable and secret means to prejudice" him. He concluded with a request that the land on which he paid the deposit and the Brisbane grant be restored to him, particularly as the latter had nothing to do with the case.

Sir George Murray, who had followed Mr Huskisson as Secretary of State, then instructed Darling to put Henry Dangar in repossession of the 1700 acres in question if payment is made on time in the regular manner.²⁶

Dangar followed this up with a letter dated February 27, 1829, to Under-Secretary Hay, requesting the return of the 1300 acres reserved for him by Governor Brisbane in return for meritorious services. He asked that it be formally granted to him under the Great Seal on his return, as Dangar has spent time and money improving the land. Before doing this, Under-Secretary Hay found it necessary to write to Darling for fuller information, and this was supplied to the Under-Secretary in the Governor's despatch of December 19, 1829.²⁷

Darling's reply²⁸ stated that Dangar had not been dispossessed of 1300 acres, but of 2000. A 10% deposit had been paid on this 2000 acres, but no specific land had been mentioned. It was by his irregular purchases of Land Orders that these 2000 acres had been acquired. The Governor had never intended to rob him of his deposit or the right to some land, but only of that specific land wrongly obtained. He could choose his 2000 acres quite easily elsewhere. Dangar still held the 1300 acres subject to the Secretary of State approving, but Darling suggested that he should be made to purchase this 1300 acres and an additional 700 elsewhere. He felt that Dangar deserved no liberal treatment by the Government. The

26. *Ibid*, Vol. XIV., p. 527.

27. *Ibid*, p. 683 *et seq.*

28. *Ibid*, pp. 295-7.

Governor also drew Sir George Murray's attention to the fact that the reserve of 1300 acres was due to Dangar upon retirement, but he had forfeited his right to it by his dismissal.

Sir George Murray agreed with the Governor in the matter, and in his despatch of July 24, 1830, gives his approval to all that Darling has done, while enclosing a copy of a letter from Under-Secretary Hay to Henry Dangar conveying Sir George's decision.²⁹

Dangar made a further attempt in 1836, after he had returned to New South Wales, to open up the matter with Lord Glenelg, and Governor Bourke forwarded the appeal in his Despatch No. 118, dated November 11, but he had no better success, and Lord Glenelg refused to alter Sir George Murray's decision. So the matter ended.

However, the trip to England was not without certain results apart from the publication of the *Index and Directory to the Hunter Valley and Emigrants' Guide*. On May 13, 1828, in the parish church of his native village, Henry took to himself a wife, Grace Sibly, the daughter of John Sibly, of St Neot, Cornwall,³⁰ and to this happy couple a son, William John, was born on March 16 of the following year. So it was as a married man with a family that Henry Dangar set sail at the end of 1829 in the vessel *Elizabeth* to return to New South Wales.

A further benefit accrued to Dangar before he sailed. The new Commissioner of the Australian Agricultural Company, Sir Edward Parry, was looking for a suitable person to join his staff as a surveyor, and, hearing that Dangar was available, appointed him to the position. In his diary, under date April 10, 1830,³¹ Parry records that the *Elizabeth* had arrived in Van Diemen's Land; and again on May 23 he records that Mr and Mrs Dangar had arrived at Port Stephens, where a cottage was ready for them. Mr Dangar had gone up to Tahlu, but was excused inspection work until after a certain event had taken place. This was a reference to the expected birth of Henry's second son, Henry Cary, the event taking place on June 4, 1830, at Port Stephens.

29. *Ibid*, Vol XV., pp. 601-2.

30. From the Marriage Register, Parish of St Neot, Cornwall.

31. From Commissioner Parry's Journal in the Mitchell Library.

WITH THE AUSTRALIAN AGRICULTURAL COMPANY.

As Dangar was on the staff of the Australian Agricultural Company for the next three years, it might be worthwhile giving a few remarks about that firm.³²

On the return of Commissioner Thomas Bigge, who had been sent from London to inquire into the affairs of the colony, a report was tabled in the House of Commons. Part III. of that report dealt with the state of agriculture, and, amongst other recommendations, suggested that the investment of capital in New South Wales should be encouraged so that new areas as yet unsettled could be opened to the farmer and grazier.

A group of men interested in this idea met in London in April, 1824, and discussed the formation of a company to take up land and develop it as suggested. The one Australian present, John Macarthur, junr., was able to help with his local knowledge. It was decided to approach the Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst, with a request for a charter for such a company, which it was planned should have a capital of £1,000,000. It was hoped that 1,000,000 acres in New South Wales would be granted to the company for the production of fine wool, vines, oils and flax. Emigration of special types was to be encouraged, and convict labour would be required.

The deputation to Lord Bathurst was successful in gaining their requests with very slight modifications. Thus the Australian Agricultural Company was floated, and a local committee in New South Wales selected to carry out preliminary moves in the colony. Certain leading citizens in New South Wales were given the opportunity to subscribe to the company.

The local committee approached the Surveyor-General, John Oxley, to ask his advice on possible sites for the company's activities. He recommended three areas : (1) The Liverpool Plains; (2) the head of the Hastings River; and (3) Port Stephens district. The property called "The Retreat" beyond Parramatta was acquired as a resting place for stock. The local committee then decided to wait for the company's agent, Mr Robert Dawson, of whose impending departure from London with stock and servants they had been notified. As mentioned

32. *Vide The Australian Agricultural Company, 1824-1875 (Gregson).*

earlier, on his arrival here, Dawson, accompanied by Henry Dangar, inspected the Port Stephens area, and, without attempting to look at the other two selected sites, chose Port Stephens as the headquarters for the company's activities, a decision which was to cause trouble later.

On his return to Sydney, Dawson arranged for the despatch of a schooner carrying men, materials and stock, and the venture was under way.

As time passed, the affairs of the company did not progress as favourably as was expected, and it soon became obvious that Port Stephens was not a suitable area. The directors in London decided to recall Dawson and replace him with a more energetic man, and their choice fell on Sir Edward Parry. He it was who appointed Henry Dangar to the staff as surveyor.

The first thing Parry wanted was a true and detailed report on the other two sites recommended by John Oxley, as he was convinced the Port Stephens area was not what was needed. Thus in April, 1830, he despatched Dangar to the Upper Hastings River to examine the land there.³³ Dangar made a thorough survey, drawing maps and taking detailed notes. He returned to Port Stephens to replenish supplies, and set off again in September. In November he set off a third time, on this occasion examining the area set aside in the district for the Church and Schools' Corporation, which the company would lease if suitable. Having thus explored all available land in the Hastings River area between the coast and the Dividing Range, Dangar presented his report, which was unfavourable to the company taking this area up for its activities.

That left the Liverpool Plains, which John Oxley had seen on his 1819 journey from the Macquarie River to Port Macquarie. In June, 1831, Dangar, accompanied by Dr Nisbet, one of the leading executives at Port Stephens, set off to the north-west corner of the company's grant with the intention of penetrating from there to the Liverpool Plains. With "extreme labour and a degree of enterprise," Dangar pushed up the headwaters of the Manning River, through country as rugged as anywhere, coming out on the top of the Dividing Range just beyond the source of the Peel River. Supplies were almost exhausted, and

33. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. XVI., pp. 731-2, and *The Australian Agricultural Company, 1824-1875*, pp. 55-7.

the party were compelled to return, their task incomplete, over the Liverpool Range and down the Hunter Valley to Segenhoe.

Supplies replenished, the party returned again in November, 1831. After another strenuous climb, the party again reached the Liverpool Plains, where Dangar was able to inspect some very fine country. He selected two areas in particular which he felt would be suitable to the activities of the Australian Agricultural Company, and on his return in January, 1832, he reported the matter to the Commissioner, stating that, while difficult of access, these areas would be much more suitable than Port Stephens.

Parry evoked great interest in Dangar's maps and report, and decided to make a tour of inspection himself. Setting off with Dangar and the superintendent of the company's flocks on March 5, he reached the Liverpool Plains and began a thorough examination of the area. The courses of the Mowherindi and Peel Rivers were followed for some distance, and the land examined for many miles around. On the return journey to Port Stephens, a new line across the mountains at a gradient suitable for a stock route was discovered, and the party reached the company's headquarters after an absence of six weeks. Parry was now quite satisfied in his mind that it was his duty to acquire this land and transfer activities there.

However, on approaching the Government in Sydney on June 4, 1832, he found an absence of eagerness to accede to his requests. Neither Governor Bourke nor Surveyor-General Major Thomas Mitchell seemed keen to hand over to the company two very extensive areas of good grazing land. To facilitate the task, Parry agreed to despatching his surveyor, Dangar, with a selected Government surveyor, White, to examine and survey again the land east of the Great Dividing Range, but the second survey only confirmed Dangar's previous view that the land was not suitable to the purposes of the Australian Agricultural Company.³⁴

Nothing then could hold up the granting of this area, and in 1833 the Australian Agricultural Company was given possession of the areas selected by Dangar on the

34. Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. IX., pp. 120 *et seq.*

Liverpool Plains. One, which has become known as Warrah station, was 240,000 acres in extent, and the other, Goonoo Goonoo, was 360,000 acres.

About this time Henry Dangar submitted to the directors of the company a paper dealing with the management of the company's sheep stations, discussing particularly the staffing and costs involved.³⁵ We are not concerned here with the details of this paper, but it is of interest to set out some of the facts gleaned from it, and we learn thereby that the company's grazing affairs were not too successful at this stage.

Flocks consisted of from 300 to 500 sheep each, and two flocks were stationed together. There were huts for the shepherds and yards for the sheep at each centre. Each flock had two shepherds by day and a night watchman to protect the sheep from native dogs when yarded at night. That meant six men were at each station, usually all being assigned prisoners, which meant it was not a costly business in wages. The clip per sheep was, on the average, 2 lbs. 6 ozs. The price of the shorn wool was $1/4$ to $1/11\frac{1}{2}$ a lb., and so the value of a sheep would be about 4/-. A study of these figures shows how far the wool industry has progressed since these early days.

On December 22, 1832, Sir Edward Parry reported to the Colonial Secretary, Macleay, that Dangar had completed the survey work required of him, but was still in the employ of the company, waiting to assist in the settlement of the grants on the Liverpool Plains.³⁶

But as nothing seemed to have happened three months later, the Commissioner reported to Macleay that he intended to discharge Henry Dangar from the service of the company.³⁷ There is an interesting entry in Parry's Journal³⁸ under the date May 15, 1833, which is worth repeating :—

I had a long conversation with Mr. Dangar principally on the subject of his intended departure. I made with him every arrangement requisite for conveying Mrs. Dangar and his family across to Graham's and his baggage from here to Newcastle in the *Lambton* and then in the *Ebbsworth* to the "Green Hills." It is a comfort to feel that an officer, about to leave the Company's service, is deserving of every consideration and assistance in my power.

35. *The Australian Agricultural Company, 1824-1875*, p. 73.

36. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. XVII., p. 106.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

38. Commissioner Parry's Journal in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Dangar's family had been further increased during the time at Port Stephens by the birth of a third son, Frederick Holkham, on October 23, 1831, so it was a family of five who left Port Stephens on June 7, 1833, to take up residence at Dangar's property, Neotsfield, in the Hunter Valley near Singleton. Dangar's life as a surveyor was completed, and he was now to become a grazier.

AS A GRAZIER.

As was the case with officers of the Government, Dangar received his first grant of land very soon after his appointment. On September 6, 1821, Macquarie granted him 700 acres in the Hunter Valley, Grant No. 4, between Morpeth and Raymond Terrace, opposite John Eales' block of 2100 acres. This was later known as "Duckenfield."³⁹ On May 16, 1825, Governor Brisbane gave him a further 300 acres, Grant No. 21, in the Hunter Valley, a property named by Dangar "Neotsfield," after his native village.⁴⁰ It is located close to Singleton. On May 16, 1825, he purchased a further 700 acres adjoining this grant. Brisbane also ordered a further 1300 acres to be set aside for Dangar on March 13, 1825, in return for his meritorious services, and he was given a possession order in 1826 after he had paid a £50 deposit. It was this reserve of land which was temporarily taken from Dangar by Darling.

Thus, very early in his Australian career, Henry Dangar was a pastoralist, but his occupation with the heavy programme of surveying mentioned early in this biography would not allow him to spend much time on his property. However, Henry had the capable hands of his brother William to help him. From a document to be mentioned later, it would appear that the brothers were in partnership.

Evidence is available that the brothers were quite successful in their pastoral efforts. The *Sydney Gazette* of February 2, 1826, reported that Mr Dangar had sown 2500 bushels of wheat and had prospects of a very good harvest. However, the drought which upset the economic situation in the early years of Governor Darling's regime was not without its effect on the Dangars. The Rev. J.

39. From the records of the Lands Department, Sydney.

40. Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. XII., p. 81.

D. Lang, visiting the Hunter Valley in 1828, records⁴¹ that, in company with the others settlers, those at Patrick's Plains had suffered in the drought, no settler likely to have sufficient wheat for his own needs. Dangar had sown 130 acres, but most of it was only fit to burn. The only part to provide grain was an uncultivated part of his property which had been self-sown by the wind shaking and carrying ears from the previous harvest. Lang speaks of Dangar as a "respectable and intelligent settler."

However, two years later the drought was over, and Mr Houston Mitchell of Maitland, in a letter dated December 8, 1830, to his brother, the Surveyor-General, Major Thomas Mitchell, speaks of the good crop of wheat which Mr Dangar has in spite of the blight, smut and rust due to the previous heavy rains.⁴²

Very soon after leaving the Australian Agricultural Company to settle down to pastoral pursuits, Dangar discussed the question of dissolving partnership. There is in the possession of Mr Neville Dangar the document that the brothers drew up and signed at the dissolution. It is worth quoting, as it shows the progress the brothers had made at that stage, and I shall give it in full without comment, as it is self-explanatory. It was signed on May 22, 1835, and witnessed by Robert Clagg.

Memorandum of an agreement made and entered into this day between Henry and William Dangar, both residing in the Colony of New South Wales, in respect of their dissolution of partnership and division of property which is agreed to be arranged in the following manner :—

The estimated value of all livestock of Wm. and Hy.

Dangar at the 1st May ult.	£10,000	0	0	
The improvements at Neotsfield, cash paid on a/c of ripe grain at Neotsfield, implements of husbandry and all stores of every description	2,494	0	0	
Land and improvements taken at Dart Brook by Wm. Dangar	1,100	0	0	
	£13,594	0	0	
Less Henry Dangar's original capital £2,000/5/- currency	1,740	5	0	
	Balance	£11,853	15	0
	One half share	£5,928	17	6

41. *History of New South Wales* (J. D. Lang), Vol. I., pp. 221-4.

42. Mitchell Correspondence in the Mitchell Library : Ref. A292, p. 93.

William Dangar share :—

2000 acres of land at Dart Brook, 1800 acres situated between Kingdom Ponds and Dart Brook and 200 acres adjoining Wm. Dangar's grant of 800 acres and all improvements in the purchase of land and grant	£1,100	0	0
Cash one month from this date	1,000	0	0
William Dangar Dr. for interest upon half of Henry Dangar's original capital	626	10	0
Bills, with interest at 10% per annum at one, two and three years in equal instalments	3,200	7	6
Total	£5,926	17	6

There is a note to the memorandum that William agrees to surrender his interest in all other properties than those allocated to him in the memorandum, their improvements, equipment and assigned servants to Henry, while Henry agrees to provide William with six servants.

Thus the brothers separated, Henry and his family to Neotsfield, and William to Turanville at Dartbrook, where he lived until he returned to England in 1857, passing away in 1868 at Cotswold Grange, Pittville, Cheltenham, at the age of sixty-eight. Turanville passed to Thomas Cook.

Henry Dangar was soon busily engaged in pastoral pursuits on his own. He appears to have been very successful until the economic depression began to affect trade and agriculture in the late 'thirties and early 'forties of the last century. One can only gather that it must have hit Henry Dangar earlier and harder than others, or that Henry had been investing a little too much. Whatever the cause, an advertisement appeared in the Sydney press in March, 1838, to the effect that "Neotsfield" was to be sold by auction. It was described as :—

1000 acres of the choicest meadow land, substantially enclosed, 300 acres under cultivation, the residue being divided into feed and dairy paddocks. The houses and office are built in brick and complete, the homestead containing an entrance hall, dining and drawing rooms, six bedrooms, pantry, store, servants quarters and a spacious verandah. Half of the estate is bounded by the Hunter River from which delicious fish were obtained.

There were five acres of orchard and kitchen garden securely enclosed. There was also a roomy barn and a threshing mill.

"Holkham" was offered at the same time, this property being at Invermain, 65 miles from Maitland, and consisted of 2500 acres of rich meadow land and fine uplands.

Altogether there were 22,000 sheep, 3000 head of cattle, and 50 horses on the property, and with the sale went the right to pasture on the Gostwyck and Salisbury Plains stations in New England.

The cultivated part of Neotsfield produced 30 bushels to the acre, while the wool clip was 135 bales annually.

This catastrophe to the Dangar fortunes seems to have been avoided, however, for the editor of the *Maitland Mercury* recorded on February 18, 1843, that the citizens of that town had been impressed on the previous Thursday morning by the cavalcade of vehicles and animals which stretched from his office nearly to Long Bridge—3 waggons and 5 drays drawn by 72 oxen carrying 122 bales of wool from "the estate of one of our most enterprising settlers, Mr. Henry Dangar of Neotsfield." This wool clip was shipped to London from Newcastle in the *Duke of Manchester*. This newspaper frequently reported the agricultural successes of Henry Dangar.

Perhaps the arrival of the man who was to manage the Dangar estates for twenty-three years enabled the economic storm to be weathered. I refer to Arthur Palmer, who had arrived in Sydney from Ireland in 1838, and was engaged soon after to manage Dangar's properties. After his long service with the Dangars, he entered the Queensland Parliament in 1866, became Colonial Secretary and Minister of Public Works in the following year. From 1870 until 1874 he was Premier of Queensland, and again from 1879 until 1881 held Cabinet rank in the Northern State, being Colonial Secretary and Minister of Education. He was knighted for his public service in 1881, and died in 1898. One of the properties near Armidale still held by the Dangar family is named "Palmerston" in his honour.

There is extant a letter from Henry Dangar to Arthur Palmer written in 1846 from Neotsfield to Gostwyck, which is of interest for the sidelight it gives on Dangar's character.⁴³ Part of it reads :—

To avoid, then, as you say, a multitude of words, I will give you what you ask for two years, viz. £200 a year, and I do not suppose that you will see me at a loss for a manager for six or even twelve months — I hope you would have no objection to make

43. In the archives of Dangar, Gedye, Malloch Ltd., Young Street, Sydney.

it *three years* in the event of my wishing after another year to visit the Old Country, and we will have nothing further to do with petty contracts, this being inclined to make me sick.

One venture Henry Dangar embarked upon was the establishment in 1848 of a meat preserving works at Newcastle, on the Maitland Road near the Cottage Bridge, part of the present suburb of Wickham, but then on the edge of the town boundary. Mr Charles Gedye was the manager of this enterprise. Dangar managed to secure an agreement by which practically the whole output was consigned to London to the contractor for the Royal Navy.⁴⁴ He also experimented at this stage with the tinning of meat, but cost of labour and lack of demand caused it to be given up. Mr Gedye, however, won two gold medals at the Paris Exhibition of 1851 for first tins of preserved meat from Australia.⁴⁵

This unfortunate period in Australian economic history, the 'forties, had led to a heavy fall in the price of wool, the value of a fleece falling as low as 7½d. Many flock owners turned to the rendering works where sheep and cattle were boiled down in tallow, a commodity easily marketable at reasonable prices. Sheep brought only 6/- a head, but that was better than losing everything. The effect on the flocks of the colony, however, is not hard to imagine. Dangar's meat works at Newcastle were a similar effort to bring some money to the pastoralists. It was quite successful while it lasted, but with the passing of the depression the depleted flocks were needed for wool, not meat production, and the works eventually closed down.

AS A SQUATTER.

Henry Dangar's activities as a squatter should be mentioned at this stage before any further progress in his life story is made. And as squatting was an important development at this stage of Australian history, I hope I shall be forgiven for undertaking a brief summary of this development before recording Dangar's part in it. I am indebted to Professor S. H. Roberts' book, *The Squatting Age in Australia, 1835-1849*, for the facts set out.

The year 1835 saw free settlement sweep into New South Wales in earnest. The roads in all directions had

44. *Maitland Mercury*, February 9, 1848; August 26, 1848; February 19, 1851.

45. These are preserved in the City Hall, Newcastle.

been opened—to the west over the Blue Mountains in 1816, to the Northern Tablelands in 1824, to Lake Bathurst and the Goulburn country in 1818, and to Port Phillip in 1824. There was a general movement towards the out-back, which the Government, like King Knut of old, vainly tried to stem. Darling had the nineteen counties defined, and beyond these settlement must not go. Governor Bourke, although instructed by the Home Government to continue Darling's policy, found himself faced with a *fait accompli*—the Henty brothers were at Portland, Fawkner and Batman were at Port Phillip, and settlers including William Dangar were in the New England district.⁴⁶ Everyone from the Chief Justice downward was thinking in terms of sheep, cattle, fine wool and land speculation. "The soldier unbuckled his belt to become a keeper of sheep, and the priest forsook his altar to become a herdsman of cattle." With the growth of free settlers, the whole nature of the colony had changed. By 1835 there were 45,000 free or freed to 28,000 in bonds.

The years previous to 1835 had seen a gradual growth in the overseas demand for Australian wool. British supplies and the quality of those supplies had declined rapidly since the Napoleonic War, and only Germany remained as a serious rival, and by 1835 its ascendancy was being steadily overhauled. With this came the cry for more and more sheep. People were urged to invest in the wool trade somehow. "Put everything on four legs!" was the cry, and emigration from Britain was encouraged.

Governor Bourke attempted to meet the position by a *Licensing Act* passed in 1836, by which those wishing to squat on lands outside the nineteen counties were required to pay £10 per annum for a license enabling them to do so. Commissioners in the various districts were appointed to issue the license and supervise squatting in their areas, and penalties were to be imposed for those squatting without a license. The supervisory part of the *Act* was quite ineffective, and Bourke's successor, Sir George Gipps, endeavoured to overcome this, as there had been several cases of trouble between settlers and blacks. Henry Dangar had at least one such incident on his station, at

46. Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. VIII., p. 230.

Myall Creek, where several blacks were ruthlessly murdered by white men. But more of that anon. Gipps' suggestions were to give the Commissioners more power and to back up their authority with small troops of mounted police. Despite a storm of criticism, these suggestions were incorporated in an *Act* of 1839.

As the years passed it became obvious that the squatting system was not a success. Squatters had no permanency of tenure. They could be moved more or less without notice, so no undue time or money was spent over buildings or land improvement. To remedy this, the Squatting Regulations of 1849 were passed, by which leases of eight to fourteen years' duration were issued at £10 per annum for each station or run, 4000 sheep or its equivalent in cattle being carried on the run. For each additional 1000 sheep £2/10/- per annum was added to the licence.

Henry Dangar's first acquisition in the squatting line was the Gostwyck and Moonbi runs near Armidale. Here Edward Gostwyck Cory had squatted in 1833, but he had sold those rights to part of the run to Henry's brother William in 1834.⁴⁷ Henry later acquired these rights, and in 1838 had licenses at £10 each for the Gostwyck and Salisbury Plains runs. William assisted his brother here, and it is recorded that when George J. McDonald became the first Land Commissioner in the Armidale District in July, 1839, the Dangar brothers were at Gostwyck, Binns and Wiseman managing for them there.⁴⁸

Both Henry and his brother William took advantage of the assisted migrants who were flocking to the colony. The shipping registers of the time show entries against their names.⁴⁹ For instance, the ship *Britain* arrived in Sydney in 1844, and from it Henry secured the services of John and William Finch, and William took Henry and James Ellis, all single men, as shepherds, while John Shean went to Henry as a labourer, and George Smith, labourer, to William Dangar. They guaranteed to pay these men £12 per annum and rations, and the contract was for twelve months. Henry Dangar also secured the services of Mr

47. *Ibid*, Vol. XXXIV., p. 147, and Vol. VIII., p. 235.

48. *Ibid*, Vol. VIII., p. 401.

49. Enclosures to the Governor's Despatches (1234, pp. 1157, 1159, 1167) in Mitchell Library.

and Mrs Pat. Hefferman for work at Neotsfield, paying them £10 each per annum. Henry Dangar was also one of those landowners who supported a petition to the Government to introduce Indian labour into the colony, so scarce was the supply of labour as settlement spread.

The massacre of the blacks at Myall Creek, mentioned earlier, occurred in 1838, at a time when Henry Dangar was away from his run.⁵⁰ By this time Henry had secured permission from the Colonial Treasurer to depasture stock in the Port Macquarie district, which was then far beyond the boundaries of normal location. He had also pushed on to Myall Creek and selected land for a run there. On this property the blacks lived in tranquillity with Dangar's shepherds, and there had been no trouble. Then from outside the peace was shattered. A party of white men, probably irritated by the retaliation of some other aborigines, rounded up the blacks on Dangar's run. This was an easy task, for the blacks there had nothing to fear from white men. Some thirty were collected together, taken away from the shepherds' hut and killed in cold blood. The murderers then set off for further victims. When the report was made to the police there was quick action, and eleven of the twelve white men, all ex-convicts, were arrested. Justice took its course, and seven were condemned to death. There was quite an outcry, for there were still many who looked upon the aborigines as animals, and the thought that white men should die for killing blacks appalled them. But there was no reprieve, and the guilty suffered. Dangar received some adverse criticism for the affair, but he was far from the run at the time and the trouble was not started by his men. The incident, because of the publicity it received, showed the wisdom of the suggestions of Sir George Gipps that the hands of the Lands Commissioners should be strengthened.

When the new squatting regulations of 1849 were gazetted, Henry Dangar applied for licences for several runs, and a total of just over 300,000 acres were registered in his name. These were Gostwyck, 48,000 acres; Paradise Creek, 32,000 acres; Bald Hills, 19,200 acres; Moonbi, 25,000 acres; Bulleori, 64,000 acres; Karee, 64,000 acres;

50. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. XIX., p. 701
et seq.

and Myall Creek, 48,000 acres.⁵¹ He also acquired the Yallaroi run from J. B. Rundle in 1859.⁵²

There can be no doubt from this formidable list that Henry Dangar had become one of the leading pastoralists in the colony. As he had earlier made a very definite contribution to the development of the colony as a Government and Australian Agricultural Company surveyor, now he was adding very considerably to the further development of New South Wales as a pastoralist. Quite apart from land, Henry at one stage was a hotel proprietor, owning inns at Pages River and St Aubins. These were advertised to let in the *Australian* of June 22, 1838. The same newspaper reported on February 15, 1842, that Dangar was erecting a very large hotel at Murrurundi, which would have beneficial effects for travellers by providing healthy competition.

His family, too, had grown, five sons and two daughters gracing the family board. Also all his surviving brothers—William, Thomas, Charles, John and Richard—and his sister Elizabeth were living in Australia, and all were prosperous in their new environment. It must have been a period of great happiness to Henry after the years of stress and hard work that had gone before.

OTHER INTERESTS.

On November 26, 1836, Richard Cary Dangar, the youngest brother of Henry, arrived in Sydney just a short while before his twentieth birthday. He had, no doubt, been inspired to brave the long journey out by the stories Henry had told of the new land when he was home some years before.

Henry at once took Richard under his wing. As he travelled around the colony in connexion with his business he took Richard with him, giving him a chance to see places and meet people, as well as to ask questions.

However, with the eagerness of young people, Richard was keen to do something himself. So Henry set him up as a storekeeper at Muswellbrook, and it is claimed that from this small beginning has sprung the firm of Dangar, Gedye & Malloch. As business prospered, Richard joined

51. Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. XXXIV., p. 147.

52. From the archives of Dangar, Gedye, Malloch Ltd.

forces with Jeremiah Rundle, a successful storekeeper in Armidale, and together they began to look for an opening for their activities in Sydney.⁵³

Later, the firm was enlarged by another partner, Charles Gedye linking up. The Gedyes were related to the Dangars, for in July, 1791, Ann Cary Dangar, Henry's aunt, had married John Gedye, junr.

With business well established in Sydney, Richard Dangar returned to England to set up an office for the firm there, and, except for a brief return to Australia, he remained in England for this purpose, his home being at Haverstock Hill, Hampstead. He returned to Australia in 1852, and stayed for nearly eight years. He took up residence at Effingham House, Copthorne, Surrey, when he reached England again, and there he died on June 16, 1867, at the age of forty-nine. He had married Ann Tweek, daughter of William Golding of Callington, in 1844, and his only daughter, Louisa, married Mr Mitchell, who became Second Secretary to the British Embassy at St Petersburg, where Mrs Mitchell died in 1879 at the early age of thirty-four.

Henry followed the trading interests of his brother and the other partners closely, and was always behind them in their efforts. In 1855 he placed the necessary sum of money with the firm to enable his second son, Frederick Holkham Dangar, to be taken into partnership. The centennial history of the firm of Dangar, Gedye & Malloch says of Henry Dangar :—

Although he is not shown anywhere as ever having been an active partner in the business himself, it is clear, from all the contemporary evidence, that he backed the enterprise and was a sleeping partner until he transferred his share in it to his son.⁵⁴

HIS POLITICAL LIFE.

Dangar first entered the political arena in 1843, when elections for the Legislative Council of New South Wales were taking place. There was considerable interest in the efforts of the candidates, for it was the colony's first elective Council for which they were striving. Previously the Governor had nominated some of the members, and others were there ex officio. The efforts of W. C. Wentworth and others, however, had led the British Government

53. *This Century of Ours* (Fraser), p. 50.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

to make a move towards Representative Government, and this was the result.

The *Maitland Mercury* of January 14, 1843, carried an announcement that a committee, of which Henry Dangar was the chairman, had been chosen to carry out an electoral campaign in favour of Major D'Arcy Wentworth for the Northumberland Borough seat on the Council. A month later the same newspaper recorded surprise that Henry Dangar had not been nominated, as had been expected, at a public meeting of electors at Scone. This was for the Brisbane, Bligh and Hunter Counties seat, where, the editor added, "Mr. Henry Dangar's friends are numerous, forming the majority at Scone and Murrurundi." As Henry Dangar's name was not put forward, we find his brothers, Thomas and William, supporting the nomination of Captain Dumaresq at the same meeting.

A few days later, however, at another electoral meeting, Dangar's nomination was put forward, proposed by Dr Gill and seconded by Mr Rundle. A proper requisition was then duly signed by his supporters, in which Dangar was asked to stand. It seems to have taken Henry a month to make up his mind, for it was not until April 1 that the newspaper was able to announce :—

Mr. Henry Dangar has at length announced himself a candidate for the Upper Hunter District. His address is to be found in another column. He avows himself the champion of agricultural and grazing interests, and is the first candidate in this quarter who has openly advocated application of the Land Fund for the importation of coolies. We doubt much whether this avowal will add to his chance of success. He professes decidedly liberal opinions on political subjects. His address would, we think, be improved by being rendered more simple.

The wording of this policy speech, which, in accordance with the custom in those pre-railway and pre-radio days, was set out in the form of a long letter published in the press, is certainly not the simplest. Two extracts will show this :—

My pretensions for soliciting your support are founded upon a residence here as a colonist for upward of twenty-two years, (being one of the first to plant the standard of colonisation in the important locality, the Hunter). . . . I am a fixed denizen amongst you; the colony has been the birthplace of my numerous family; my and their interests are identical with your own. Wedded to these pursuits, I address myself to you as a fellow labourer in the field of rural industry. . . .

I shall be brief in the exposition of my political opinions; they are *decidedly liberal*. In religion, a member of the Church of England, but tolerant to all sects; an enemy of placemen and pluralists; my role shall ever be on the side of economy and efficiency, without respect of persons. In fine, should you, by the guarded and unbiased use of your suffrage, confer the honour upon me to which I aspire, my best energies will be directed to the protection and advancement of your general interest—religious, moral, political and educational. In the former case, against the trespass on your rights as free men; and in the latter, supporting all measures that may be calculated to organise and give stability to our common weal.

One cannot imagine a speech like that at a modern political gathering, but Dangar was addressing only a portion of the people in his electorate, for the franchise was then limited to males who held a property freehold of a minimum value of £200 or to householders paying an annual rental of at least £20. He addressed groups of electors at Jerry's plains on April 4 and at Murrurundi on April 11. At these meetings he set forth his point of view clearly, and showed the wide knowledge he had both of the Hunter Valley and the colony generally. However, he invariably had some critical remarks to make about his opponents, not only on the score of their policy, but often of a personal nature. In return, he received frequent jibes about his support of the plan for introducing Indian coolies.

The *Maitland Mercury* of May 27 forecast a close contest between Captain Dumaresq and Henry Dangar, without making mention of the third candidate, Mr McIntyre, although they later declared that he was the one who impressed them most.

On nomination day, amidst great excitement, Dangar was led to the hustings by some of his supporters, mounted on horseback, displaying his colours—true blue and currency blue—very prominently. The Returning Officer duly asked for nominations, and Captain Dumaresq, Mr McIntyre and Mr Dangar were in turn proposed and seconded. Each candidate followed his nomination with a short speech to the assembled electors. The Returning Officer then called for a show of hands, and declared Mr Dangar the winner. The other candidates, however, exercised their prerogative and asked for a ballot. The Returning Officer thereupon declared June 24 as polling day.

The interest until that day was intense, and the local newspaper records one or two cases of persons charged with assault at electioneering meetings. But, alas ! for the forecast of the editor of the *Maitland Mercury*, Captain Dumaresq won the seat with an absolute majority over the other two candidates. The final figures were : Dumaresq, 58; Dangar, 34; McIntyre, 19. Nevertheless, Dangar's visits to Jerry's Plains and Murrurundi had been profitable ones, for in those centres he captured every vote available—eleven in each case.

In the years that followed, Henry Dangar became very much of a public figure. At almost every important public gathering in Singleton and neighbourhood the local press records his presence, frequently as a speaker, often as the chairman. A few examples in the year 1844 will illustrate this.⁵⁵

In that year the Rev. J. D. Lang was likely to be disqualified from taking his seat on the Legislative Council because he could not comply with the necessary property qualifications, his estates having been spent in the cause of education. Public meetings were held in various towns to help overcome this difficulty and retain his services for the colony. Henry Dangar and John Robertson were the principal speakers at the Singleton gathering held in January, and Dangar was chosen as one of a committee to collect funds for this cause.

A month later he was chairman at a public meeting called for the dual purpose of initiating moves to have the local M.P. removed from the Council, and of offering congratulations to the Member for Durham, Mr Windeyer, on the excellent stand he had made in Parliament.

Three weeks later he was again in the chair at a public meeting at Singleton, when Mr Windeyer met his constituents and reported the doings of the Legislative Council. Twelve days later, this member was tendered a congratulatory dinner at the Rose Inn, Maitland. Henry Dangar was again in the chair, and had a very happy time proposing numerous toasts—the Queen, Prince Albert and the Royal Family, the Governor, the Judiciary, the Attorney-General and the Bar, their Guest of Honour, Lady Gipps, the Ladies of the Colony, and Agricultural

55. These are all recorded in the *Maitland Mercury* of corresponding date.

and Grazing Interests. In return, Mr Windeyer proposed the health of the chairman after complimenting him on his public-spiritedness.

Towards the end of April a public meeting of electors at Singleton was called to give intending candidates for the newly formed District Councils (the equivalent of our Shire Councils) a chance to speak. On the motion of Mr T. Cullen, seconded by Dr Stolworthy, it was agreed that Henry Dangar, because of his talent and interest in the locality, was a fit and proper person to be chosen. Nominations took place on November 7, and Dangar was successful.

During May, Dangar was the principal speaker at meetings at Sccone and Singleton called to protest against the new squatting regulations proposed by the Governor. In the latter place he was selected as one of a committee to collect signatures for a petition.



LAMPEN FARM, ST NEOT, CORNWALL.^{55a}

The first Annual Show of the Hunter River Agricultural Society was held on May 14, 1844, in the sheds and yards at the back of the Albion Inn at Maitland. Dangar was one of the exhibitors, and won prizes for the best bull and the best breeding cow, while his horned cattle received

^{55a} See Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal*, Vol. XXXIX., p. 1.

favourable comment. At the official lunch given at 4.30 p.m. on the opening day, Henry Dangar was in the vice-president's chair and replied to the toast of the successful competitors. He also proposed a toast to "The Agricultural and Grazing Interests in the Colony."

During the same month he was chosen as a member of a committee endeavouring to have Newcastle declared a free warehousing port. He was then selected by that committee to be one of the small deputation to wait upon the Governor with their petition. His Excellency received the deputation graciously, and agreed to forward the petition to the Home Government with his blessing.

Thus Henry Dangar was identifying himself with the political and agricultural developments of the Hunter Valley, his actions and remarks being backed by an intimate knowledge of the district gained since the beginning of its history, with which he had had much to do.

Therefore, when it was suggested that he stand for the Northumberland County seat on the Legislative Council in the election of October, 1845, he was successful and took his seat in the House for the first time on May 13, 1846. He was returned for the same seat by a majority of 54 in the elections of 1848, and remained a member until the dissolution of the Council in June, 1851. He did not seek re-election after that date.⁵⁶

Of his policy while on the Council, it would be fair to say that he spoke and voted in the interests of the land-holders and squatters. He served on the Roads and Bridges Select Committee in 1846, and helped to prepare a report on the measures necessary for improvement in that direction. When the English Secretary of State, Mr Gladstone, advocated a return to a modified form of transportation of convicts to the colony, Dangar joined with Wentworth, Macarthur and others in supporting it. The labour shortage on the land was still acute, and none knew the need better than Dangar with his vast holdings. He also opposed Sir George Gipps' land policy, and was therefore one of the solid opposition which faced the Governor on the Council when Sir George brought forward his proposals to regulate squatting.⁵⁷ But while the

56. *New South Wales Legislative Council Papers*, A235, pp. 110-111, Mitchell Library.

57. *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, June, 1846.

opposition of many of the Councillors was unreasonable and based rather on personal dislike of Sir George and not on the merits or demerits of the case, Henry Dangar's opposition was against the proposals. He was therefore only too willing to serve on the Select Committee of the Council appointed to examine in detail a bill before the House of Commons dealing with the sale of waste lands belonging to the Crown in Australia.

There is no doubt that Dangar was exasperated at the constant strife between the Council and the Governor. In a letter to Captain M. O'Connell in 1846 he referred to the matter. He described the government of Sir George as "one of espionage and secret influence." He lamented the fact that the Governor has never nominated him to the magistracy. He said "he has notoriously included the names of some in the commission of the peace he should not—and he has omitted others who from property, standing and fitness were entitled to be included. I flatter myself I am one of the latter class." He expressed to Captain O'Connell the hope that there will be greater co-operation between the Legislative and Executive Councils under the new Governor, Sir Charles Fitzroy.⁵⁸

Very soon after this, Dangar received a commission dated November 11, 1846, appointing him Magistrate of the Territory.

IN ENGLAND AGAIN.

Thus life went along steadily for Dangar until he received word that his father had died on December 17, 1851, at St Neot. When nine months later another letter announced his mother's death on September 8, 1852, Henry felt it imperative, as the eldest surviving son,⁵⁹ to return to England to attend to his father's affairs. He sailed from Sydney in 1852, and was absent about three years, during which time he made his home in the house of his brother Richard at Haverstock Hill, Hampstead. Richard was in Australia at the time.

While in England, Henry Dangar visited Europe with his wife and son, Henry Cary, who was then studying at Cambridge. He arranged for certain Saxons to come to Australia to assist in working his stations. Among these men were Messrs Eichorn, Post and Bauer (later altered

58. O'Connell Correspondence, A839, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

59. An elder brother, Charles, died at the age of ten months.

to Bower), descendants of whom still live in the Singleton and Armidale districts. He also purchased some Saxony sheep to improve the stock on its holdings, and the men selected were to look after the animals on the voyage to New South Wales.⁶⁰

After visiting St Neot, Henry decided to sell his father's lands and other property. Lampen Farm had passed out of the Dangars' hands, and William Dangar owned "Bush" and "Crossfields" with the right to pasture



THE DANGAR COAT OF ARMS.

on "Gonzion" and "Berry Down." Posters far and wide announced the fact that Mr Robert Avent would sell by auction in the Carlyon Arms, St Neot, on Wednesday, September 6, 1854, at 3 p.m., the land, houses, orchards and premises, property of Henry Dangar, in the Parish of St Neot, Cornwall. Thus, except for one farm-house and a small area of about 100 acres, the lands of the Dangars in St Neot passed from their hands. The remaining portion is now the property of Mr Peter Dangar.

60. From a Journal of H. C. Dangar now in the possession of Mr R. N. Dangar.

One very interesting event occurred at this time—the granting of a coat of arms to the Dangar family on October 3, 1854.⁶¹ The motto selected, “*Traditus non victus,*” is very fitting for a family that refused to bow to the demands of a Papal King, Louis XIV., that they should surrender their religious liberty, and preferred to sacrifice their home and possessions and leave their native land for the sake of their faith.

Henry returned to Australia broken in health, and his death, due to a stroke, took place at “Grantham,” Potts Point, on March 2, 1861, at the age of sixty-four. His wife survived him by eight years, her death taking place at Neotsfield on August 16, 1869, at the age of sixty-eight. Both were buried in the family vault which stands in the grounds of All Saints’ Church, Singleton.

HIS FAMILY.

It only remains to trace the fortunes of the five sons and two daughters who survived Henry Dangar.⁶²

The eldest son, William John, was born at St Neot in 1829. On his father’s death in 1861, Neotsfield passed to him, and it would appear that he was a successful pastoralist. He was elected President of the Northern Agricultural Society in the ’seventies. His death occurred in 1890, and there was no issue to his marriage with Marion, daughter of John Phelps of Sydney.

The second son, Henry Cary, born at Port Stephens in 1830, and educated at Sydney College, became a barrister-at-law. He took an Arts degree at Cambridge, being a student of Trinity College, and was admitted to the Middle Temple. He later became a member of both the Legislative Assembly and Council, the former in 1874 and the latter in 1883, and had residences at “The Grove,” Camden, and at “Grantham,” Potts Point, Sydney. To his marriage in 1865 with Lucy, the daughter of Com-

61. From information supplied by the Rouge Croix, College of Heralds, London.
62. Information concerning the family of Henry Dangar came from several sources :
 - (a) The memorial tablets in St Neot Parish Church, Cornwall.
 - (b) Fox’s *Armorial Families*, p. 493.
 - (c) Burke’s *Colonial Gentry*, 1891 ed., Vol. I., pp. 21-2 and 64.
 - (d) *The Australian Encyclopedia*, Vol. I.
 - (e) *Pioneer Families* (Mowle).

mander Lamb, R.N., there was an issue of four sons—R. H. Dangar, of Neotsfield; Reginald Neville Dangar, a solicitor; Major-General H. W. Dangar, R.A.; and Leonard A. Dangar, of Yallaroi, N.S.W.—and several daughters. He died in 1917. Dangar Island in the Hawkesbury River was named by him when he bought it in 1864 and erected a house on it.⁶³

The third son, Frederick Holkham Dangar, also born at Port Stephens in 1831, became, as mentioned earlier, a partner in the firm of Dangar, Gedye Ltd. He moved to London to look after the English end of the firm's business. He acquired the first sailing ship belonging to the firm, the *Hawkesbury*, to facilitate overseas trade. He also built the *Neotsfield*, which was later sunk by the Germans. He was a director of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, and a foundation member of the Union Club in Sydney. He was also a keen cricketer, and was particularly interested in the first games between England and Australia. He was also a close personal friend of the English statesman, William Ewart Gladstone. After several voyages back and forward to England, he finally retired to England in 1879, where his death took place in 1921. To his marriage in 1858 with Elizabeth, the daughter of John Phelps, there was an issue of two sons, Dudley Richard and Henry Phelps, and a daughter, Ada.

The fourth son, Albert Augustus, was born in 1840. He spent two or three years as a pupil of Truro Grammar School while his father was in England, and also served at sea for three years. He acquired the property "Baroona," formerly "Rosemount," at Whittingham, N.S.W., and became a very successful pastoralist, specializing in stock breeding. He was a generous man, and the Singleton district has several pieces of evidence of his thought for other people. On June 22, 1907, he donated an up-to-date Cottage Hospital to the people of Singleton. A year or so later, when it was decided that the Church of All Saints' was to be rebuilt, he let it be known that he would be a supporter of the move, and it was largely due to his generosity that the church was rebuilt. He laid the foundation stone in 1911, and, in addition to a

63. Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. XXVIII., p. 132.

monetary gift, he donated the clock and organ and a chapel in the north-west transept. The tower of the new church was, at Mr Dangar's suggestion, modelled on that of the Parish Church at St Neot in Cornwall. A. A. Dangar married Phoebe, daughter of E. Rouse of Rouse Hill, in 1866, and there was an issue of three sons—Rodney, Norman Napier and Clive—and four daughters. He died in 1913.

The fifth son, Francis Richard, left New South Wales to live in England, and died in 1873 in London.

The elder daughter, Margaret Elizabeth, married Walter Lamb of Prospect in 1858, and the younger, Florence Blanche, married George Frederick Want in 1870.

Tablets on the walls of the Parish Church of St Neot in Cornwall record the success in life of the members of the Dangar family, a success which was in part due to the start in life given them by the hard work and pioneering efforts of their ancestor, Henry. So it is perhaps fitting to close this brief biography with a short passage from the wording of the tablet erected to his memory in that church by his children :—

“ Possessed of a sound commonsense combined with untiring energy, he, by his own efforts, achieved success. Loved and esteemed in life, he is revered in death.”

Sir George Reid's Place in the Federal Movement.

By K. R. CRAMP, O.B.E., M.A. (Fellow).

(*Read before the Society, August 26, 1952.*)

PART II.

(Continued.)

The atmosphere of the Convention became heated at times. Accusations were thrown both ways across the chamber. Generally Reid took the thrusts with good humour. When, for instance, Gordon (South Australia) said Reid's attitude “evidences complete inconsistency; I am almost inclined to say the political unscrupulousness of the right honourable gentleman himself,” the unruffled Reid merely replied, “You are entitled to say it on account of the hot weather !” On another occasion, when sub-

jected to interjections, he hit back with the remark, "My honourable friend's interruptions resemble a bludgeon in more respects than one—they have no point." Sir William Teal (Victoria) complained that Reid had made a personal reference to him which was extremely offensive; in short, Reid had referred to him as "Reverend." Reid's retort came without hesitation : "That's days ago; I have changed my opinion since."²⁵

This is scarcely on the main subject, but it does add to our visualization of Reid's personality, and depicts the delegates, after all, not as supermen, but common mortals with ordinary human characteristics. In after years, Reid himself made confession and wrote : "Looking over the reports of the debates, I see many reasons for picking myself out as the chief offender in the heated exchanges which occurred during the sittings of the Convention."²⁵ Perhaps he would have even admitted the accuracy of Piddington's comment that he brought rudeness to a fine art.²⁶

RAILWAYS.

Having established a sound position for New South Wales as regards the river problem, Reid found he had to protect its railway trade against the interests of Victoria and, to a less extent, South Australia. To assist the man on the Riverina lands, the Government had expended large sums on railway extension so as to facilitate the carriage of produce to the seaboard. Victoria, which had not relinquished the notion that the Riverina should have been included within its boundaries, when it had been erected into a separate colony in 1851, had endeavoured to attract this trade to her own ports, and consequently the cost of carriage of Riverina produce to Melbourne was actually lower than for produce within Victoria itself over shorter distances.

At one stage Reid might have been willing to hand over the railways if the Federal Government would at the same time take over the State debts. At the Melbourne sessions he mentioned possible complications which would need to be ironed out. What, for instance, would be the position if the Federal Government took over a part of a railway ? Could a railway built for defence be used for

²⁵ Reid : *My Reminiscences*, p. 134.

²⁶ Piddington : *Worshipful Masters*.

mercantile purposes ? But these questions scarcely called for a reply, for they were not seriously considered. What was of importance was the attitude of the Convention concerning the Riverina railways.²⁷

A clause had been adopted at Adelaide to the effect that the Commonwealth should not allow preference by any law or regulation of commerce or revenue to any State, or part thereof, over another State or part thereof. Reid attempted to add to that clause the following : "But nothing in this Constitution shall be taken to interfere with the power of any State or authority constituted by a State to arrange rates upon lines of railway so as to secure payment of working expenses and interest on the cost of construction." At the outset he was unsuccessful, though he argued that, without the power, New South Wales would be left with an unprofitable railway ; and so it was necessary to prevent interference with rates fixed by a State. The proposed amendment was defeated (20 votes to 23). In his disappointment, he complained bitterly that

the moment a question comes up in any shape or form, whether in regard that one colony wants to have over the rivers of New South Wales, or with regard to the hold the two colonies [obviously Victoria and South Australia] want to have over the trade of New South Wales, we find immediately that the pure federal atmosphere becomes obscured, and there is a contest almost by delegations upon these points of self-interest.²⁸

Much of the discussion hovered around the question of preferential rates and differential rates. The term "preferential rates" referred to the Victorian rates so cut (even to the extent of 66 per cent.) as to induce the Riverina farmer to send his produce to Melbourne, his nearest port, rather than to Sydney. Differential rates were the New South Wales haulage rates so tapered as to minimise costs over long distances. "Tapering rates for long distances," Quick and Garran argued, "are required by the soundest principles of railway management."²⁹ Yet it was not always easy to distinguish between the two rates. At that time a cut-throat competition was being conducted. Victoria, supported by South Australia, claimed that trade should flow through its natural channels.

²⁷ *Sydney Session Report*, p. 870.

²⁸ *Melbourne Session Report*, pp. 1356 *et seq.*

²⁹ Quick and Garran, p. 179.

Reid, however, objected to federal control of trade that was purely intra-State, not inter-State. New South Wales should control its internal trade, as, for example, that from Riverina to Sydney, as being essential to the satisfactory settlement and development of her lands. The real question from the federal aspect was whether a limit should be put to the right of New South Wales to taper her long distance rates towards Sydney while imposing prohibitive rates on produce travelling southward into Victoria. Reid was on solid ground in arguing that low rates were used for developing territory, as well as for attracting trade, and it would be impossible to frame a clause to allow the former and forbid the latter. In the producers' interests, no rates should be declared invalid because they were unduly low. The consequence of low rates would be the State's concern. He contended that, if a State were not free to establish rates as it pleased, the value of the railway would be seriously impaired. "I submit," he said, "that where the sovereignty of a State is preserved it should be left with its sovereignty, or else it should be plainly told it has no sovereignty."

When Higgins's (Victoria) amendment against rates to attract trade was carried (18 to 15 votes), and then displaced by the resolution moved by Sir George Turner (Victoria) granting the Federal Parliament power to make laws forbidding such references or discriminations as it may deem to be undue, unreasonable or unjust to any State (25 to 16 votes), Reid was alarmed, as the consequential cessation of differential rates between the Riverina and Sydney would convert the Riverina railways into scrap iron. The resolution would spell federal control over internal as well as interstate trade, and give Parliament a judicial as well as a legislative function. He complained that New South Wales rates would be fixed in the interests of the other colonies. He declared :—

What a strange thing to propose that gentlemen, who have been members of Parliament that have indulged in these cut-throat rates, should act in the Federal Parliament as Judges over such a matter. Such a tribunal is tainted with self-interest, and, under the guise of doing justice, it will bring into play all the political passions that can possibly be invoked.³⁰

With emphasis he declared :—

³⁰ *Melbourne Session Report*, p. 1386.

I cannot consent to words being put into this bill which would make these railways worthless, which would make it impossible to keep them open. . . . I will not allow our liberty of action in running them to be interfered with.

Even more brusquely he complained :—

This spectacle of cutting up everything that belongs to New South Wales to the satisfaction of our neighbours is going on in a somewhat monotonous fashion. . . . As the Minister responsible to the people of New South Wales for the millions invested in her railways, I cannot ask those people to throw those millions into the gutter to satisfy the appetites of our friends for our trade.³¹

Reid held it was a fatal mistake to give Victoria all she wanted in such a form as to cripple New South Wales. "They have safeguarded the grasp Victoria has over the trade of New South Wales; the latter colony is not safeguarded in an endeavour to make her railways in the Riverina pay for the expenses of maintaining them." He reminded the delegates that the very basis of the attempted federal union was that, as far as possible consistently with federal union, the rights of the several States and the sovereignty of the several States shall be preserved. "The Convention," he concluded, "has refused to take over the railways, and it cannot escape from the consequences of that decision."³² In other words, they should not exercise control of that for which they do not accept responsibility.

Eventually the various amendments proposed were withdrawn, and it was resolved that Parliament might forbid undue, unreasonable or unjust discrimination on the railways. On Reid's motion, it was further agreed that "due consideration shall be given to the financial responsibility incurred in connexion with the constitution and working expenses of State railways." The Interstate Commission, not Parliament, was to be the judge of the fairness of a rate, and no rate was to be deemed undue, unreasonable or unjust until such Commission had declared it to be so.

This solution, it was hoped, would give a full measure of equality of trade conditions between the States, and due recognition of the responsibility and liability of the State in which the railway was situated. Reid, representing his colony's interests, did not have all his own way, but he had secured some concession. He had scored, not

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1390.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 1412.

a bull's-eye, but at least a centre. Or was it only an outer?

FISCAL POLICY.

The important and highly complicated topic—the fiscal policy—is treated here with but a few comments, perhaps because, like the “bewildered electors” of 1898 who, having listened to the arguments of the “Billites” and “Anti-Billites,” I ask the question, as Quick and Garran put it, ‘What is truth?’’ Reid, like Parkes, had reconciled himself to the subordination of his free-trade principles to that of federation. Consequently he recognized the inevitability of a protectionist tariff, but he still hoped that interstate freedom of trade might to some degree counterbalance the imposition of customs on trade from outside Australia. Moreover, hope still fluttered within his breast that, when the question of Customs duties was under discussion, he might be in a position to exercise a moderating influence, provided no clause in the Constitution presented a protectionist bias at the outset. In any case, to impose a Customs system on all States would be particularly heavy on the hitherto free-trade State of New South Wales, until sufficient time had elapsed for trade to adjust itself to the new conditions. Moreover, New South Wales would lose a good deal on the per capita system of distributing the surplus Customs to be returned to the States.

Reid succeeded in securing a provision that a uniform tariff must be imposed within two years of the inauguration of federal government, so that, as just indicated, his free-trade State might the sooner enjoy interstate free-trade, which he regarded as a compensatory feature. Indeed, he stated that the establishment of internal free-trade all over the continent was the main inducement for his State to embrace the federal movement. He said:—

Unless there is the necessity of legal compulsion to frame a tariff within reasonable time, the people of New South Wales may find themselves, year after year, through this or that difficulty, left without the vital benefit for which they united. Unless we brand on the very face of this compact the necessity of finishing this work within a given time, I tell you honestly there is no guarantee that we shall have inter-colonial free-trade within ten years. Moreover, there must be no bias in the Constitution, which, as to what form of raising revenue the Commonwealth may adopt, must be “a sheet of white paper.”³³

³³ *Melbourne Convention Report*, p. 1000.

Higgins (Victoria) suggested the imposition of the tariff by gradual stages, so as to avoid violent changes in any of the States. Reid, despite his representation of a free-trade State, did not seek such a lubricating measure, which would be trifling with a big question; the people should be ready absolutely and promptly to surrender the advantage of keeping up barriers to their countrymen. He announced :—

I am prepared to risk every fiscal principle in which I believe, and for which I have fought for so many years : I am prepared to risk my fiscal principles in view of the commanding national destiny which we are called upon to realize, feeling at the same time sufficient confidence in my principles as to believe that, just as we have been able to win here, we shall be able to win in the Federal Parliament, if not at once, at no distant date.

“Leave the fiscal policy to the Federal Parliament,” he urged. “That body, elected under federal conditions, will be infinitely better qualified to bring about an equitable solution than we shall.” Thus we see he was prepared to entrust clashing local interests to the wisdom of the Parliament representing the whole Australian people, but he still hoped there would be no necessity for a high tariff. Reid’s attitude at this stage led Symon (South Australia) to declare that he had deeply impressed the delegates “with his broad and encouraging speech.”

When, however, after many suggestions had been temporarily accepted and then abandoned, the famous—should I say notorious ?—Braddon blot device was adopted, according to which the Federal Parliament was to collect four times as much revenue from Customs and Excise as it required, and then hand three-quarters of it back to the States. Reid was not at all comfortable about it, and the people of New South Wales viewed it with alarm. Nevertheless, when the electors of this State did accept the bill at the first referendum (January 3, 1898) and Reid brought the Premiers together for another conference, his effort to displace the Braddon clause failed, because every suggested change seemed open to even greater objection. This clause therefore remained, but ultimately with the added proviso that it should hold good for ten years, and thereafter only until Parliament otherwise decided.

DEADLOCKS BETWEEN HOUSES.

The problem of overcoming deadlocks between the two Houses occasioned much discussion. Reid stressed the

need for providing some machinery for their prevention.

We must put into this Constitution some guarantee that if the Houses fall out and cannot perform those functions for which they are constituted, there must be some reserve power in the Constitution to enable the Commonwealth to be saved from the horrors and losses of deadlocks and confusion.

It was his intention to move for such a safeguard, for "if the Constitution is left as it is now, the Senate will be the predominant power in it." That was Sir William Lyne's strong objection to the draft, and even to Federation itself. How could the danger of a deadlock be obviated ? A possible solution would be (1) to conduct a referendum, or (2) to dissolve the Houses and have a general election, or (3) to dissolve one House, say, the House of Representatives, and, if after an election the difference persisted, to dissolve the Senate. The problem made evident again the clash between the smaller and larger colonies. The smaller colonies preferred the dissolution of the House of Representatives, with the Senate remaining intact. Reid protested against such senatorial privilege. The voice of the nation must be the supreme authority, and, when matters were in dispute, the position involved the dissolution of both Houses. Simultaneous dissolution of the two chambers would tend to keep the Senate more pliable to public opinion. Otherwise, as Reid argued :—

The veto of the Senate would be the living force in the Commonwealth. You may talk about the power of a House which frames and sends up the measures, but the power of a House which can say "No" and is under no responsibility for administering the affairs of a country leaves the possibility of carrying on the government to the responsible power, while it can prevent the responsible power from carrying out its policy to provide the means for doing so.³⁴

Thus he opposed the proposal to dissolve only the House of Representatives in the first instance, and the Senate at a later stage, only if necessary. He presented this further argument :—

If the two Houses differ and the House of Representatives is dissolved, and the electors endorsed its views, the Senate merely subsides, and the whole confusion and expense fall unjustly on the Representatives; if the (electors') vote favours the Senate views, the Senate stiffens its back, so that it wins in any case. The sword of dissolution hanging over them places the Senate in a position to know beforehand where it stands, and is a comfortable arrangement represented by a homely phrase : "Heads I win; tails you lose !" The arrangement is one-sided. To be fair, both Houses must be dissolved at one time.

³⁴ *Sydney Session Report*, p. 659.

Despite the weight of outstanding personalities siding with Reid [i.e., Barton, Deakin, Hackett, Carruthers, Isaacs, Kingston, Lyne, O'Connor, Quick, Wise, Turner and Holder], the weight of numbers was with the smaller colonies. Consequently the amendment favouring the prior dissolution of the House of Representatives was accepted. An analysis of the voting revealed the influence of the smaller States, as the votes "Yes" and "No" were respectively as follows : Western Australia, 9 Yes to 1 No; Tasmania, 9 to 1; South Australia, 5 to 4; New South Wales, 2 to 8; Victoria, 2 to 8; total, 27 to 22. This in itself constituted an emphatic warning that the larger States could be at the mercy of the smaller States in the emergency of a conflict between the Houses. Reid, therefore, declared that in a last entrenchment he must stand for the rights of the people of the Commonwealth as against the rights of the smaller States. He expressed, however, a desire to find a solution without leaving either the smaller States at the mercy of the larger or the larger at the mercy of the smaller. He declared :—

The discrepancy is so serious between the different colonies that unless we do hit upon some golden means without absolutely giving up the smaller to the power of the larger, we can never come to a satisfactory conclusion by giving up the interests of the larger to those of the smaller populations. We are really in that dilemma, and we must face it plainly.

Even after a double dissolution the re-elected Houses might still differ, and the deadlock would be intensified, not solved. Therefore, he concluded,

It would be infinitely better for us to give up any idea of solving deadlocks unless we are going to solve them. The solution must be one which will lead to finality. To dissolve the House of Representatives and leave the Senate in existence was not a solution, for an immovable Senate would be victorious at last.

That argument may not appear to some as necessarily conclusive, but at least his next suggestion clinched the argument. He pleaded :—

If we can find nothing better in mercy to the people of Australia, let us adopt this simple expedient of allowing the two Houses to appeal to their constituents, and if, after that, they fail to agree, let us compel them to come together and decide the matter as one body.

At a later stage Reid remarked : "The course of sitting together will bring deadlocks to an earlier, a less

expensive and a more friendly determination than anything else."³⁵

Reid's attitude elicited from Downer (South Australia) a compliment on Reid's "remarkably fair address."

As we know, the outcome was the adoption of a joint sitting of the two Houses in lieu of an appeal by referendum to the people. Such joint sitting had been suggested by R. E. O'Connor as early as 1893. For the moment, too, it was agreed that a three-fifths majority at a joint sitting would be requisite, and Reid was one of those who agreed to this. Subsequently he revived the question and urged the substitution of a simple majority in place of a three-fifths majority, but the Convention adhered to its earlier decision by a vote of 27 to 10.

Ultimately, as we shall see, Reid was instrumental in having that changed to an absolute majority of the two Houses.

REID'S ATTITUDE TO OTHER FEDERAL PROBLEMS.

Reid's attitude with respect to some of the other federal problems must be presented in a more or less summarized form :—

(1) The question of appeals from a State court to a higher court was to him a problem of choice between a Federal Court of Appeal without any reference to the Privy Council, or to the Privy Council without reference to a Commonwealth Court of Appeal.³⁶ Two courts were a superfluity. A Federal Supreme Court would render as much justice as any other court of a similar nature, and it would have the additional advantage of placing the deciding authority as near as possible to the litigants' homes. To the mass of the citizens the Privy Council was beyond reach.

(2) Should the State debts be handed over to the federal authority ? Reid's answer was "No," firstly because the natural corollary of such transfer would be that the State's assets in which the State's debts had been sunk would also have to be handed over, and the sovereignty of the State would be correspondingly reduced; and, secondly, the federal authorities would have to provide additional revenue to meet the interest payments on those

³⁵ *Sydney Session Report*, p. 843.

³⁶ *Adelaide Session Report*, p. 976.

debts, and this revenue would necessarily come from Customs, the Commonwealth's main source of revenue. To New South Wales, with its free-trade sentiments, this increasing of Customs charges would be obnoxious. Said Reid :—

I utterly oppose the proposal that the debts of the colony shall be taken over by the Commonwealth without that colony's consent. We must not lose sight of the fact that the sovereignty of the State is being left to them under this Constitution. . . . It is to the advantage of every State to decide for itself as to its own debts.

He continued :—

I have very great doubt as to whether the solvency of the State can, in any healthy sense, be said to be promoted if there is any transfer of liabilities without some corresponding transfer of assets.³⁷

(3) Higgins (Victoria) moved for inclusion in the Commonwealth powers "Conciliation and arbitration for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State." Reid expressed his opposition to this, but did not succeed in gaining the support of the majority. Nevertheless his arguments are of interest. He said :—

There is a tendency in these days, especially among those who are very anxious to bring about an amelioration of all ills which flesh is heir to, to entrust knotty problems to some new authority in the pious hope that matters which human wit has hitherto never been able to settle satisfactorily will be settled by some such tribunal.³⁸

He visualized several sets of laws, one in a particular State not interfered with by a federal law, different laws in the other States, and a federal law radically different. He commented :—

Just imagine the temptation under these circumstances to shift the venue of a particular trade dispute from a particular State! If the employers in the trade dispute of a particular State think that the federal law and its administration are more likely to suit them, look at the incentive there is to extend the mischief and evil into another State, or more than one other State, in order to shift the venue of the tribunal which will try the dispute. . . . So it will be with the other side—the working men—if they think that the federal tribunal will best suit their interests. . . . If the dispute be existent between two colonies or more, the federal tribunal would have to deal with it, and the local power would be disfranchised from dealing with it.

(4). When it was proposed to appoint four Judges in addition to the Chief Justice to the High Court, Reid argued for a smaller number at the outset. He thought

³⁷ *Melbourne Session Report*, p. 1562.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

two others should suffice. Allusions were being made to the excess of lawyers in the Convention, and "it might be an object of sinister criticism that we should be careful to provide that there should not be less than four Judges."³⁹ If a minimum must be fixed, Reid held that a maximum should also be determined so as to ensure the independence of the court and obviate the possibility of its being swamped by the Executive. Numbers do not constitute strength. A decision of eight Judges to seven is not a strong decision. A Chief Justice with two Judges may constitute a stronger bench than a Chief Justice and four others. The Convention, therefore, decided that there should be "not less than two" other Judges.

(5) Conflicting views as to the site of the Federal Capital revealed a clash of State interests.⁴⁰ Four colonies submitted reasons—substantial or flimsy—for the establishment of the seat of government within their respective boundaries. Actually the only serious claimants were New South Wales and Victoria. It was proposed at Melbourne that the seat of government should be determined by Parliament, and, until such determination, Parliament should sit where a majority of the State Governors decided, and, in the event of equal division among them, as the Governor-General shall direct. The Legislative Council at Sydney had recommended Sydney; Braddon declared Hobart to be "Nature's choice," or, failing that, some suitable place in Tasmania; Turner declared St Kilda as naturally adapted for the purpose; Symon said Mount Gambier was ideally situated; Dr Cockburn argued that Adelaide was Australia's centre of gravity. It has been stated that Turner and Symons' suggestions were "just to keep up the joke"⁴¹ Sir William Lyne moved for the insertion of the words, "In the colony of New South Wales," in the clause. Reid, sensing opposition which might jeopardize the ultimate claims of New South Wales, and being supported by Barton, Forrest and Carruthers, induced Lyne to withdraw the proposal. But only for the moment, as he re-introduced the motion, which was defeated by 33 votes to 5, with the rejection by 36 to 3 of a similar motion by Peacock for

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 700.

⁴¹ Quick and Garran, p. 204.

its establishment within Victoria as his only consolation. Eventually the Convention accepted a clause as worded by Turner that "the seat of the Government of the Commonwealth shall be determined by Parliament and shall be within territory vested in the Commonwealth." This clause was included in the Constitution submitted to the electors at the referendum in 1898. Reid's more astute, opportune and effective participation in the problem came after the referendum.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

After much travail extending from March 22, 1897, to March 17, 1898, the Federal Convention produced a draft Constitution which in general was comprehensive, adequate and ideally fitted to the Australian people. The bill had now to be submitted to the voters in five colonies (Queensland still abstaining). Seven of the ten New South Wales delegates recommended the bill. The other colonies were all concerned as to the New South Wales decision, which, in turn, depended very largely on the attitude recommended by Reid. Success or failure seemed to turn on that pivot.

The great question was on what side would Reid throw his great influence and his unrivalled powers as a platform speaker. As Premier of the leading colony and the man at whose invitation the process of framing a Constitution had been entirely entered upon, he had a heavy responsibility, and it was no secret that he was not wholly satisfied with the bill.⁴²

Sydney's two leading newspapers were divided on the question. The *Daily Telegraph* opposed the bill because of its disapproval of the principle of equal State representation in the Senate, the excessive powers granted to that House, the device of joint sittings of the two Houses instead of national referenda to overcome deadlocks, and its fear that Melbourne was aspiring to be the seat of government and seduce Riverina trade into Victoria. The *Sydney Morning Herald* (June 2, 1898) regarded the arguments against the bill as animated by provincialists who "can only discern the partial advantages and disadvantages of their own States and cannot rise to that generous and wise attitude from which they might survey the prosperity, dignity and strength of all these magnificent States interacting and blending together in true nationhood."

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

Australia was waiting to see how the cat jumped, the cat being Reid, who could both purr and scratch. The suspense ended after a Sydney Town Hall meeting on March 28, 1898. It was attended by both Barton and Reid, as well as by others. Reid records that Barton was received with loud cheers, but for Reid himself the reception was vociferous and prolonged. His criticisms of the bill were drastic and his adverse comments on its financial aspects damaging. His audience realized that a high tariff would be inevitable. Then, having pulled sections of the bill to tatters, he dramatically declared that, despite all its defects, he could not be "a deserter of the cause," especially as he had initiated the movement for the Convention and participated in its debates. He felt duly bound to vote for the bill, but he would not recommend the voters either way. His attitude was dramatic and influential. The "Billites" pointed triumphantly to the vote Reid proposed to cast, the "Anti-Billites" to the criticisms he had made. And so he came to be known as "Yes-No Reid." Because of his feeling of responsibility for the fact that there was a bill at all, and for which he must vote, he was "Yes-Reid"; because he felt that the general character of the bill was against the interests of his State, he was "No-Reid." The term was intended as one of ridicule. Time often transforms a term of contempt into one of honour. So was it with the "Contempts" and the "Rats of Tobruk."

"Fortunately for Reid," Piddington commented, "his condemnation of the bill, and not his promise to vote for it, carried the day."⁴³

The poll of June 3, 1898 (June 4 in South Australia) gave an affirmative majority in all five colonies, but the statutory requirement of 80,000 affirmative votes in New South Wales was not reached. The count showed 71,595 for and 66,228 against. Reid's influence had been sufficient to prevent the mother colony from making a greater sacrifice on behalf of the federal cause than what had seemed necessary and inevitable. It was actually a victory for Reid. So also, in a sense, was the final result in the second referendum twelve months later, on June 20, 1899. For had Reid not acted promptly after the first referendum, it was just probable that the campaign would have ceased

⁴³ Piddington : *Worshipful Masters*, p. 62.

with the cooling of popular ardour. Reid, however, lost not a day. Within twenty-four hours of the referendum he wrote to the other Australian Premiers suggesting a meeting to amend the bill to comply with the wishes of New South Wales. Their first reaction of unwillingness and suspicion vanished when Reid included in the platform he presented to his own Legislature the revision of the Federal Constitution, and his expression of a determination to arrive at an understanding with his fellow-Premiers by stating definitely his objectives :—

1. Removal of the three-fifths majority requirement at the joint sittings of the two Federal Houses; alternatively, a national referendum in lieu of a joint sitting.
2. A recast of financial clauses and elimination of the Braddon blot.
3. Restriction of the Senate's power to amend money bills.
4. More thorough safeguarding of State territorial rights, including water conservation and irrigation of the inland rivers.
5. The placing of the Federal Capital.

For the moment Reid was hampered by the State general elections (July 27, 1898), especially as Barton was his personal opponent in the King electorate in what Piddington dubbed as a "duel of chiefs for chieftainship." Reid declared he would "make it the fight of his life." His followers constituted the Liberal Federal Party, and hailed their candidate as the champion of New South Wales interests; and denounced the Leader of the National Federal Party, Barton, as the champion of the other colonies. Barton, following Parkes' example, spoke of "Reid's thinly disguised hostility to Federation," and criticized Reid's dictatorial throwing down of his amendments as an ultimatum to the other colonies.

Piddington records that "Reid spoke indefatigably, and displayed better than at any other time the range and variety of his resources."⁴⁴

The *Clarion Call* of July 26, 1898, regarded Reid as an opportunist, which in all probability he was—so were they all—but at least he did apply his opportunism to the interests of the colony he represented. The *Daily Telegraph* preferred Reid to Barton for that very reason—he aimed at a federal solution acceptable to the people of New South Wales. He could be "relied upon to secure us a better bill—one which has any prospect of acceptance

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

in this colony.''⁴⁵ *Punch* pictorially represented Toby Barton, ready poised with harpoon, to spear a whale with Reid's face, and saying : "Don't be afraid of him—the more furiously he spouts the less need there is to fear him." But this was not so, for the election query, "Toby or not Toby," was answered by the defeat of Toby (Barton), largely, so Piddington states, because Reid's versatility of presentation scored over Barton's more solid knowledge.'⁴⁶ "Reid had the more nimble and mobile mind, and in the end the veteran apostle was beaten by the recent convert."⁴⁶

Naturally Reid was delighted with his victories over Parkes and Barton in two successive elections. "It was an achievement of which any man might be proud." Nevertheless, posterity still awards pride of place on the federal roll of honour to those two he defeated, though Reid at the critical hour was, in effect, the deciding factor and achieved much with less sacrifice on the part of New South Wales.

The rest of the story can be related in few words. The Premiers' Conference was held in Melbourne on January 29, 1899, with Queensland on this occasion represented by Dickson, its Premier. Reid induced his Premier colleagues to give New South Wales much, but not all, of what it wanted. Instead of a three-fifths majority at a joint sitting, an absolute majority of the total number of members of the two Houses was required; the operation of the Braddon clause was limited to ten years, and thereafter until Parliament determined otherwise; the Federal Capital was to be within New South Wales, and the area (at least 100 square miles—actually New South Wales transferred 900) to be vested in the Commonwealth. Victoria, manifesting a lack of magnanimity, caused this concession to be watered down by insisting that the Capital should be at least 100 miles distant from Sydney. Melbourne was to be the temporary Capital. State boundaries were not to be altered without the concurrence of the State concerned. The Constitution was not to be altered unless (a) a majority of the total votes polled in the Commonwealth, and (b) a majority of votes in a majority of States were in favour. Finally, one House

⁴⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, July 25, 1898.

⁴⁶ Piddington : *Worshipful Masters*, p. 64.

should not have the power to prevent an appeal to the electors by means of a referendum.

Piddington commented that Reid's omission to fix a maximum limit to the distance of the Capital from Sydney and a time limit for the selection of the site illustrates the weak point in Reid's mental outfit—a kind of incapacity to bring his mind to work within lines of precision.⁴⁷

With these points agreed upon, the way was cleared for a second referendum. When Reid announced that "he would support the amended draft with all his powers," success was assured, despite the *Daily Telegraph*'s strong opposition. The *Sydney Bulletin*, which Quick and Garran declared to be "a great power throughout Australia, concentrated its unrivalled wealth of ridicule against the opponents of the bill."⁴⁸ The Legislative Council voted for amendments requiring a majority of one-third of the total number of voters and the inclusion of Queensland as conditions for New South Wales acceptance, but the appointment of twelve new Councillors broke down these obstructing tactics.

On June 20, 1899, a total of 107,420 affirmative votes against 82,741 were polled in this State, and the other States were overwhelmingly in favour, except that Western Australia delayed its decision to a later date (1900). By the irony of fate, Reid's Government was shortly afterwards defeated in the States' Assembly, and his prospect of being Australia's first Prime Minister vanished overnight. His successor, Sir William Lyne, could not command a following, and so the honour devolved on Barton, Australia's outstanding Federal Leader, with Reid at the head of the Federal Opposition.

TRIBUTES TO REID BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

The claims for greater recognition of Reid's federal services than is usually accorded is strengthened by the tributes paid to him by his distinguished contemporaries. At Adelaide, Deakin paid him the following compliment : "We owe so much to Mr. Reid in the origin of this Convention, and for the fair and conciliatory spirit in which he has invariably addressed himself to the business of this Convention." Kingston referred to the high esteem and appreciation they had of his enthusiastic and eloquent

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴⁸ Quick and Garran, p. 221.

advocacy of Federation, his sound reasoning, his unflagging industry, and his unfailing courtesy. Barton likewise spoke of Reid's services in the Federal cause, and especially in the carrying of the Federal Enabling Act, "not only in the interests of his own colony, but for the whole of Australia." Braddon's eulogy was equally flattering : "We owe a great deal to Mr. Reid. He has initiated this movement, and he has forwarded it in the most admirable manner by his tact as much as by his eloquence." Finally, Turner said : "I must express the warm hope that we shall meet him in another part of Australia . . . to finish the good work which he has taken such pains in carrying out."

In acknowledging these tributes, Reid expressed his confidence "that we are really at last on the brink of that glorious transformation which shall enable us and all the people of Australia to rise to the destiny which lies before us."⁴⁹

Are these eulogies due to a sincere or momentary generosity or a kind of mass psychology ? (Pardon the application of such a term to these distinguished Australians.) They may at least be compared with what was said of him more than a decade later (1909) by one who scattered bouquets sparingly, and only when and where he thought merit called for them. The Right Hon. W. M. Hughes once said, in addressing Reid :—

We have often said things of one another which might, perhaps, with advantage, have been left unsaid; but this I will say, that the right honourable member never gave his word that he did not faithfully carry it out. Whenever he made a pledge to us it was carried out to the letter and in the spirit whether it extended to a small thing or encompassed a large one.⁵⁰

As a conclusion, let me quote the subject of this analysis once again. Looking back on the horrors of the First World War, we will, I am certain, endorse Reid's own comment when he wrote : "One shudders now at what might have been if the war had found the people of the Dominions—now so magnificently solid and efficient at all points—a nebulous series of provincial formations."⁵¹ That this transformation to nationhood has been achieved is due, not entirely, but largely, to his statesmanlike foresight and opportunism, as well as to his finesse and

⁴⁹ *Adelaide Session Report.*

⁵⁰ Reid : *My Reminiscences*, p. 264.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

accurate estimate of the social forces and components on which he played with a master's hand. He, above all others, reconciled the ideals of an Australian federalized nationhood with the provincial claims and desires of the State of New South Wales.

The Society's Patron.

The Society has been greatly honoured by His Excellency the Governor-General, Field Marshal Sir William Slim, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., having granted his patronage to the Society.—(EDITOR.)

Australian Naval Board's Flag.

By G. A. KING (Member of Council).

The fascinating study of flags and their uses, particularly in the Navy, has recently been increased by the adoption of an Australian Naval Board flag.

The manner in which flags are used in the British Services, including the armed forces of the Dominions, is jealously guarded and observed, and, apart from the many rules provided by international law and usage, British customs over the centuries have added to the interest in flags generally.

The recently adopted flag of the Commonwealth Naval Board is based on that of the British Lords of the Admiralty—"Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral."

The Commonwealth Department of the Navy has courteously supplied the writer with particulars of the Naval Board flag, on which is the Admiralty anchor in gold placed horizontally in the centre of a flag of red and blue bisected horizontally, the red portion being above the blue portion.

An outstanding, and in some respects peculiar, feature, from the landsman's point of view, of the particulars of the new flag is that, following usage, it is to be "worn," not flown, by ships and elsewhere specifically provided for.

The instructions lay down that the flag is to be worn continuously at a mast (here, again, it will be noted, that it is not a flagstaff) on "N" block, Victoria Barracks, Melbourne—the headquarters of the Department of the Navy. The flag is half-masted by the direction of the Naval Board on the day of the death of the Sovereign or a member of the Naval Board—being re-hoisted at sunset—and during the funeral of the Sovereign or member of the Board.

The possibility of dire disaster is also provided for, and the instructions state that the flag "is only struck by order of the Naval Board."

The new flag is worn by H.M. Australian ships in which the Naval Board is embarked, in flagships at the main, and in other ships at the fore; the masthead pendant is hauled down whilst the Naval Board flag is flying. In flagships with only one mast, it is worn on convenient halyards side by side with the Admiral's flag.

There is a difference between ships and boats, for the official directions lay down that when the Naval Board is proceeding in a boat on official duty the Naval Board flag is flown in the bow of the boat.

It is also provided, among other things, that the flag is worn on Service cars conveying the Minister for the Navy, or the Naval Board, on official business.

When the Naval Board is embarked in a naval communication aircraft (not an operational type aircraft or helicopter) the Naval Board flag is displayed by the aircraft when on the ground, stationary, or taxi-ing.

The rigidity of the use of flags by the Navy is apparent from these detailed instructions.

The use of the White Ensign on the water or on land, except by ships of the Navy or naval establishments, is expressly forbidden, although there is in Sydney one exception to this otherwise rigid rule. That is the Royal Naval House in Grosvenor Street, which is permitted by special authority to display the White Ensign on the building. The Royal Naval House has enjoyed that privilege for many years, back to the time when Imperial warships were stationed in these waters and when the Australian station was commanded by an Admiral of the Royal Navy.

Notes and Queries.

By JAMES JERVIS, A.S.T.C. (Fellow),
Honorary Research Secretary.

NOTES.

We hear much to-day concerning naturalization of "New Australians." The first naturalization ceremony took place in 1825, and the man concerned was T. G. Pitman, an American, who was a Sydney businessman in that year. In May, 1825, W. C. Wentworth wrote to Governor Brisbane informing him that Pitman was desirous of establishing himself as a merchant, and asking His Excellency to submit a Bill, which had been prepared, to the Legislative Council, to allow his client to be naturalized. The draft Bill was submitted to Major Ovens in June. The Bill (*6 Geo. IV., No. 13*) was signed on July 5, 1825, and provided that as soon as Pitman had taken the oaths of loyalty and had subscribed to the declarations appointed by the *Act 1 Geo. 1st* the Chief Justice was required and empowered to administer and receive the oaths.

The *Sydney Gazette* of August 11, 1825, stated that on the previous Friday (5th) Mr T. G. Pitman, an American, had appeared in the Court and taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration before His Honour and Chief Justice, and was admitted to exercise the privileges of a British subject.

Shortly afterwards, another *Act* (*6 Geo. IV. No. 17*) was passed by the Council and signed on August 30, 1825, to naturalize Prosper de Mestre, also an American, who came to New South Wales as supercargo of the ship *Magnet* in August, 1818. Like Pitman, he engaged in business in Sydney. He married Miss Black, of Macquarie Place, on March 1, 1821. His stores were in George Street. In 1826 de Mestre was elected a Director of the Bank of New South Wales. Many of his descendants are still resident in this State.

In 1828 a further *Act* dealing with naturalization was passed. This statute (*9 Geo. IV. No. 6*) was an *Act* to enable the Governor, or Acting Governor, to grant "Letters of Denization" to such foreigners as might arrive in the colony with a recommendation to that effect from the Principal Secretary of State for Colonies. It was signed on July 3, 1828.

The first woman to become naturalized appears to have been Josephine de Reuss, a native of French Flanders, who came to Sydney from Batavia in 1826. In November, 1830, she made application for the issue of Letters of Denization, but delays occurred in dealing with her application.

Madame de Reuss went to England late in 1833 to press her claim for the issue of the necessary papers to make her a British citizen. Earlier the Governor had been instructed to take the necessary steps to naturalize Madame de Reuss, and in 1834 informed the British Government that the Attorney-General had been requested to prepare the papers but some delay had occurred.

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The Hunter Valley.

A Century of Its History.

By JAMES JERVIS, A.S.T.C. (Fellow).

(*Read in part before the Society, September 25, 1951.*)

PART I.

This paper is intended to deal with the history of settlement in the fertile Hunter Valley from 1788 to 1888, and to trace, briefly, the development of its towns and villages. No reference is made to Maitland, as the writer has already dealt with its early history. There is, also, only brief reference to the mining field of South Maitland, since it did not develop until after 1888.

When the Valley was thrown open for settlement after the arrival of Sir Thomas Brisbane, it was rapidly occupied, mainly by a good class of new settlers who came here with some capital.

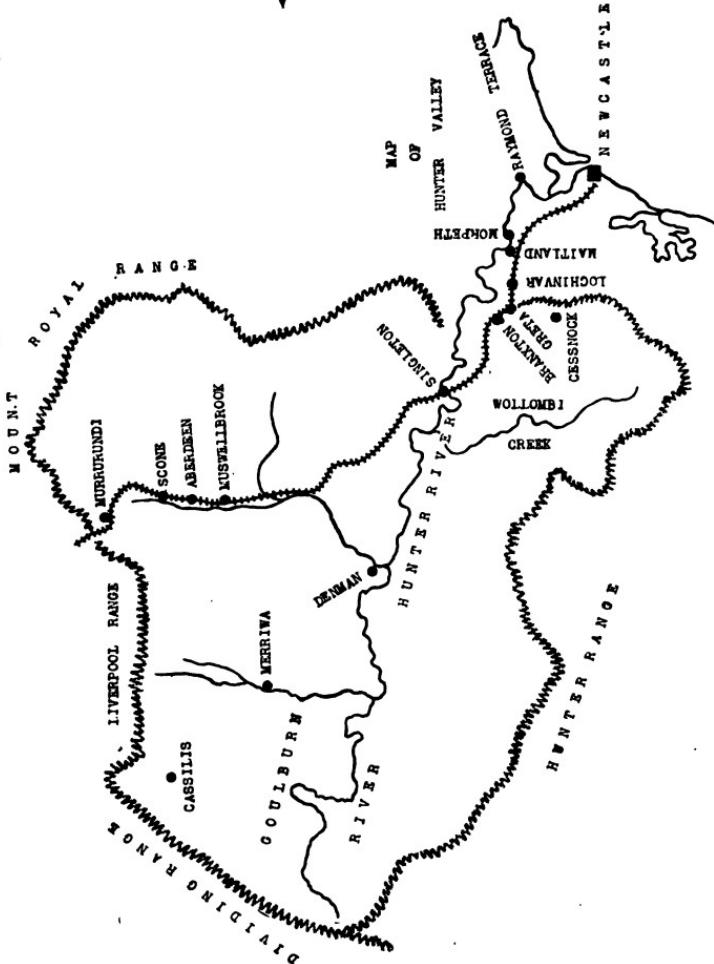
Irrigation works now in progress will doubtless open a new era in the history of the Valley and lead to a more intensive use of its soil.

It would be difficult to say who was the first white man to set foot in the Hunter Valley. After the discovery of the Hunter River by Lieutenant Shortland, small vessels visited the locality with men to dig coal and also to cut cedar. Probably the cedar-getters were the real pioneers here, as they were elsewhere in New South Wales.

In 1801, Governor King despatched an expedition to explore the country about Newcastle and the lower Hunter. Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, who was in command, was accompanied by Lieutenant Grant, Mr Lewin, Surgeon Harris and Ensign Barrallier.¹

Paterson, Harris and Lewin left the *Lady Nelson* on June 30 in a boat, and, after travelling upstream for about

¹ *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. IV.



MAP OF HUNTER VALLEY AREA.

sixteen miles, rested the night on a piece of rising ground which was named Greenhill; in later years this spot became known as Morpeth. Half a mile above Greenhill, Paterson noted that a river flowed into the main stream, which Governor King named Paterson River. Earlier this river was called Cedar Arm; it is evident that the country here was known before Paterson's party examined it.

The country was described as being generally low, covered with wood, and very little of it was fit for cultivation—not because the soil was poor, but from the "lowness of the situation."

On July 2, a small "tent hut" thatched with grass was built to serve as headquarters. The soil here was found to be good. This spot was named "Schank's Plains" in honour of Captain Schanks, the "projector" of the *Lady Nelson*. It was noted there was little cedar in this locality. From this point excursions were made upstream. On July 4, "a beautiful green mount" was discovered, which was climbed and named Mount Anne in honour of Mrs King. This hill was the first in a range that extended for about nine miles. A remarkable mountain in shape not unlike the Peak of Tenereiffe was called "Mount York."

On July 6, what was thought to be a large lagoon proved to be a chain of ponds. Some natives were heard, and it was observed that some trees had been chopped down, and they appeared to have been cut with a much sharper tool than a "stone maga," from which Paterson concluded that there were European deserters amongst the aborigines.

The exploring party went upstream on July 10 and 11, and came to a very high hill which received the name of Mount Elizabeth (now Tangerin), after Paterson's wife. It was the termination of the range in which Mount Anne stood; the chain was called King's Range.

Paterson² then decided to return and examine what he called "Hunter's River." It is clear that at this period the main stream which is the Hunter of to-day was called the Paterson, and the present Paterson was known as the Hunter. The Williams River (also called after Colonel Paterson) was not examined at this stage, nor was it named. On July 15, Paterson and Harris went up the present

² Paterson's account of the expedition is to be found in *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. IV., pp. 448-453.

Paterson River and named a high hill Mount King. On the following day the river was again examined, and a hill upstream was called "Mount Grant."

Later in the year Charles Grimes, the surveyor, reported on the country in the lower Hunter Valley. He described the country from the "Basin" (Newcastle Harbour) to the Paterson as "covered with good grass but not fit for cultivation."

Robert Brown, the botanist, visited the Hunter Valley in 1804, and refers to it in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, in which he wrote³ :—

Since my return from Van Diemen's Land I have visited Hunter's River and examin'd all the branches as far as a very small boat could proceed. The unfriendly disposition of the natives, who even attacked my boat, render'd it unsafe for me to go far from the banks, or to trace any of the branches above where they are navigable.

William Lawson, the Blue Mountains explorer, also played his part in discovering the country at the head of the Hunter River. On November 24, 1822, Lawson, accompanied by Mr Scott, James Blackman and a native named Ering, left Bathurst with the intention of reaching the Liverpool Plains. Six days later, on November 30, Lawson noted in his Journal⁴ :—

Came to a river running S.E. through a fine country, we named this the Goulburn; there is no doubt in my mind this water runs to the Eastward and one of the Branches of the Hastings; Ering told me there are no large cod fish in it such as was caught in the Macquarie and in all the Rivers running into the Interior. I asked the old Native where the water ran to, he said "where the white men sit down," pointing at the same time to the Eastward which confirmed my opinion and a flat country to the S.E. for a great many miles.

The Goulburn is a tributary of the Hunter and not of the Hastings, and the old native was correct when he said that the water ran to a point settled by the white man. It is strange that Lawson did not realize that the aboriginal was referring to the settlement at Wallis Plains and Newcastle. Lawson's party was the first to examine the valley of the upper Hunter.

On December 1, Lawson followed up a "fine run of water" and ascended a very high ridge. The party con-

³ *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. V., p. 510.

⁴ Lawson's Journal, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

tinued to trace the stream on the next day and climbed another high ridge. Lawson wrote : ". . . In my opinion this is the Dividing Range." He notes on the next day : ". . . a very fine sheep country, as any in the world." On December 4 "a very fine country watered with numerous streams" was discovered. It was noted on December 5 that the "waters here run to the East Coast." A fine stream of water running south was found on December 6, which was named the "Wemyss." On December 8, Lawson set off on the return journey to Bathurst. Two aborigines came to the party on December 9 and said that the Liverpool Plains lay a short distance to the north-west, and that the native name was "Uraboon."

The country between Patrick's Plains and the Liverpool Range was explored by a party led by Henry Dangar, surveyor, in 1824.⁵

OCCUPATION.

Governor King, writing to Sir Joseph Banks in 1804, stated that Lieutenant Menzies had corroborated Paterson's account of the goodness of the soil in the Hunter Valley and its eligibility for settlers at a distance of about forty miles from Newcastle. King's letter continues⁶ :—

I have offered some of the returning Settlers from Norfolk Island to fix there which will be extending the Settlements further Northward and facilitate the growing of cotton which would be an object of great future benefit to these colonies.

However, the country was not occupied at this stage.

Governor Macquarie suggested to Earl Bathurst the desirability of occupying the country in the Hunter Valley. In a despatch dated March 8, 1819, he wrote.—

Extensive Plains of rich and fertile Land being found at no great Distance along the three principal Sources of the River Hunter, whose Embouchere is at Newacastle . . . and the access to them by means of the River being rendered still more easy in Consequence of the largest Quantity of Timber fallen there for the Consumption of this Place, these Plains now become an Object of Valuable Consideration in the Necessary Increase of the Population, and held out important advantages for the Establishment of Free Settlers upon them.

Macquarie proposed to remove the convicts from Newcastle to a place further north, and added :—

⁵ An account of this journey may be found in my paper in Vol. XXVII., Part VI., pp. 440-442 of the Society's *Journal*.

⁶ Banks' Papers, Brabourne Collection : Mitchell Library, Sydney.

. . . it would be no less Judicious to establish Settlers on the Plains along the River Hunter, where they would have the combined Advantages of a fertile Soil of comparatively easy Cultivation, and the Benefit of Water Conveyance for their Produce to Newcastle, and thence by Sea to the principal Mart of Sydney.

Macquarie permitted settlers to occupy land at Paterson's Plains in 1812, and by 1813 they had land in occupation. These people were allowed to hold the land temporarily, but were given no title to it. Settlement took place at Wallis Plains (Maitland) between 1818 and 1821, and there again the occupation was at the Governor's pleasure, although later a number of the settlers obtained grants.⁷

Benjamin Singleton was in occupation of land near Cockfighters Creek and the Hunter River in 1821. Major Morisset reported in October, 1822, that a number of persons had settled at Patrick's Plains and had land cropped with wheat.⁸

John Howe, who explored the route from Windsor to the Hunter River, had 1200 cattle and 1000 sheep grazing at Patrick's Plains early in 1823, and was paid 10/- per head for agistment.

Morisset visited Patrick's Plains in 1823, and reported to the Governor that everything he saw had the appearance of, at least, "as much regularity as could be expected in such a distant Settlement." Morisset decided to appoint Benjamin Singleton as district constable.

Occupation of the fertile valley was rapid, and by 1825 over 360,000 acres were promised to settlers and much of the land was occupied. The size of the grants promised varied from 60 to 12,000 acres; over 140 of them were above 1000 acres.

The *Australian* of May 9, 1827, said:—

Every acre of ground on the Banks of the Hunter is now located, from Newcastle to the fountain head. The Goulburn branch alone remains undisposed of.

DEVELOPMENT OF SETTLEMENT.

Peter Cunningham has described the valley and its occupation as he saw it in the 'mid 1820's.⁹ There was

⁷ An account of this occupation is to be found in my paper, "The Genesis of Settlement at Wallis Plains and the Maitlands": Vol. XXVI., Part II, of the Society's *Journal*.

⁸ Colonial Secretary's Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

⁹ *Two Years in New South Wales*.

only a bridle track between Newcastle and Wallis Plains, but a cart road was being constructed. From Wallis Plains loaded drays could pass up country for seventy miles at least, crossing the river at Singleton's Ford.

Mudie's [Castle Forbes.—J. J.] was the first of several excellent farms at Patrick's Plains. This farm of about 2000 acres consisted of most fertile soil, the greater portion of which was naturally clear of timber. Patrick's Plains contained several thousand acres clear of timber and covered with rich alluvial soil which produced heavy crops of wheat, maize and etc., and natural grasses of the most luxuriant kind. These plains were the resort of flocks of wild turkeys. An inn was established at Patrick's Plains, and a ferry boat on the river was capable of carrying carts and heavy articles across when the stream was in flood.

For sixteen miles above this point settlers were located on the left bank of the Hunter. On crossing to the right bank one could strike further into the interior from the river, and would find no habitation for twelve miles, although the land had been granted. Stock runs existed through that distance. The country was all open forest until "Twickenham Meadows"¹⁰ was reached at a point thirty-six miles from Singleton, which was described as a "rich and beautiful tract recently discovered by Henry Dangar."

Glennie's (Dulwich Grove), twelve miles from the ford, is mentioned. A considerable portion of the farm was fenced and under cultivation. Four miles on was Bowman's grant, where extensive buildings for packing and sorting wool had been erected. Bowman's sheep were said to rank among the first crossbreds in the colony.

Forbes' "Edinglassie" property consisted of many thousands of acres stocked with fine-woollen sheep. Other grants in that locality were Captain Dickson's, Carter's, Mills' and Ogilvie's. On the opposite bank there were only two resident proprietors, Captain Pike and Mr Greig; the rest of the country was occupied by distant proprietors as stock grounds. Ogilvie and his family held a property called "Merton," of 6000 acres. The Goulburn entered the Hunter near Ogilvie's grant.

¹⁰ The country near the junction of the Goulburn and the Hunter (Denman district) was called "Twickenham Meadows."

Behind the ridge bounding George Bowman's property, where he kept a large herd of cattle and several flocks of fine-woolled sheep, Captain Pike ran a good assortment of Saxon and merino sheep.

Twenty-five miles above this spot, at Holdsworthy Downs, Lieutenant Gibbs, Mr Carlisle and Messrs Little were settled, as was also Mr McIntyre, the agent for Potter Macqueen, M.P. Further on several young Scotchmen had taken up grants on some fine, clear downs along a branch of the Goulburn. All these settlers possessed sheep, "and indeed," wrote Cunningham, "there is no settler of any note upon this extensive river who is not turning his attention to the production of fine wool. . . . We may hope soon to see fine wool become an article of considerable export from here, rendering it desirable for a vessel to call purposely at Newcastle to ship it off."

Cunningham stated that the country between the head of the Hunter River and the Bathurst settlements was located in both directions to within twenty miles of each other.

A correspondent of the *Australian*¹¹ in 1827 visited the Hunter and put on record his observations. He was surprised to find the road from Molly Morgan's (Maitland) to Patrick's Plains so good. Except for the difficulty of crossing a few blind creeks, a coach and horses might run the whole distance. The country was described as "good, open forest," but the line of road ran at the back of the farms on the right bank of the river, and it was therefore the "most uninteresting imaginable." "Not more than five shillings' worth of improvement either in houses, cultivation or fences was to be found the whole distance of thirty miles."

Castle Forbes properties, on which a commodious cottage stood, and the adjoining property were two of the finest grants in the colony, and inferior to none in any part of the world. The correspondent continued :—

Thirty-six bushels to the acre is the usual produce of their wheat crops, and I saw what few people have seen in this country, if any, two stack yards within a mile of each other containing together 10,000 bushels of wheat! And yet when the proprietor of Castle Forbes chose his land in this district out of the way part of the

¹¹ *Australian*, February 10, 1827.

country, he was laughed at and considered mad. . . . Up to the present year the demands of new settlers have been sufficient to carry off the superabundant produce of this district, but now that there are no new settlers, it is to be hoped some liberal and judicious system of distillation laws may be adopted to keep the plough going.

The writer of the article stated¹² that Patrick's Plain, by reason of the extent and fertility of the land, was capable of supporting a very thick population, and some day or other must be a place of great consequence. At that period there was neither magistrate, school nor medical man, the nearest doctor being stationed forty miles away. The usual crossing place for travellers was near Singleton's Inn at Patrick's Plains.

The newspaper man then travelled on to Jerry's Plains, which was described¹³ as a "rich and fertile country, but without inhabitants, save a solitary shepherd or two, tending their flocks."

Jerry's Plains was a beautiful strip of narrow land formed of the "alluvium of the river, and the debris of the mountains." The tract extended westward about ten miles along the river, and was said to be "comparatively unknown by the settlers either new or old."

Where the river turned to the north, the traveller arrived at the splendid estates of Chief Justice Forbes, Colonel Dumaresq and Potter Macqueen. The correspondent continued:—

I suppose, with the exception of the Milanese, which it very much resembles, the whole of the Europe might be searched in vain to produce territory by nature equally valuable or grand, and so well adapted to all the purposes of civilized life.

At that stage the source of the River Hunter had not been discovered, but most of the land on its banks had been located. The tributary streams of the Goulburn, the Wemyss, the Page, Kingdon's Ponds, Dartbrook and Muscle Creek flowed through a country "nothing inferior to the main river," and all of them, though only discovered two years, could boast of some of the most respectable and wealthy settlers in New South Wales.

The native name of the Hunter Valley was said to be "Tina Lunga." Turkeys were very numerous, and one

¹² *Australian*, February 10, 1827.

¹³ *Australian*, February 14, 1827.

settler on the Goulburn found it worth his while to hunt them for the sake of the oil obtained.¹⁴

Lieutenant Breton, who visited New South Wales in 1830-1833, spent some time in the Hunter Valley, and has recorded his impressions of the district. He travelled from "Kineland" (Blaxland's station) to Jerry's Plains with Mr Blaxland, and said the country was chiefly used as a sheep walk. Various parts of Gammon Plains bore native names; one portion was called "Gullingal," a second "Booroobulbarrowindi," and a third "Murgarindi."¹⁵

James Backhouse, the Quaker, walked through the valley in 1836. He describes the river as "flowing through a rich alluvial vale, in some places spreading into extensive flats, and in others narrowed by ranges of hills, which, in the distance rose to mountains of three or four thousand feet high." "The whole country," wrote Backhouse, "is still one vast wood, except here and there a patch of a few hundred acres where the forest has yielded to the axe."¹⁶ He mentions "Dalwood," "the house of a respectable and pious settler." At "Kirkton" the traveller noted a "considerable vineyard." On June 24, 1836, Backhouse crossed Patrick's Plains, "an extensive flat, partially cleared, with small, scattered houses upon it." At the other end of the plain the Hunter was fordable close to "a little rising town called Darlington," where the party was kindly received by a family of the name of Glennie. "Ravensworth," which was passed next day, was described as "beautiful, park like property."

Between this place and "Muscle Brook" the travellers passed over sandy, gravelly, poor clay hills, thinly clothed with grass and ironbark trees. Near Muscle Brook the party came again upon the rich alluvial soil of the Hunter. A few miles on they reached "Arthur's Vale," a large farming establishment belonging to Henry Dumaresq. Backhouse writes:—

Sheep form the great object of the attention of the settler of the upper Hunter. . . . The flocks consist of about 400 each; several of these flocks are folded at one place, each flock being slightly separated by a few rails and committed to the charge of a night-watchman to be protected against thieves and wild dogs.

¹⁴ *Australian*, February 17, 1827.

¹⁵ *Excursions in New South Wales*.

¹⁶ *A Visit to the Australian Colonies*.

Helenus Scott, giving evidence in a law case in 1848, stated that many persons took small farms in the Hunter district in 1838, 1839 and 1840—many more in those years than later.¹⁷ Up to 1840 extensive clearing was going on; brush land cost £5 per acre to clear, and for forest land the price was from £2 to £5 per acre.

After the passing of the Robertson *Land Act* free selectors began to invade the district. Early in 1862 it was reported from Wollombi that the first selection of land under the new regulations had been made, when twelve 40-acre blocks were taken up on Watagan Creek.¹⁸

A newspaper man who visited the Hunter in 1866 referred to the operations of the new *Land Act*. In 1862, 135 selectors had taken up land in Patrick's Plains district; in 1863, 55; in 1864, 39; and in 1865, 25. Since the *Act* had been passed 19,626 acres had been taken up under the new law. Round about St Clair, and thence to the base of Mount Royal, a great many settlers had established themselves. They had good soil to work on, plentiful feed in the ranges, and a good water supply.

SURVEYS.

Before grants could be issued it was necessary to survey the country, and much of this work was done by Henry Dangar, who was informed on March 1, 1822, that the Governor had been pleased "to direct that the country in the vicinity of Newcastle and Hunter River be surveyed and marked for the reception of settlers." The streams and ranges in the valleys were to be traced. The country was to be laid out into squares of thirty-six miles each, and these greater divisions were to be accurately subdivided into sections of a square mile. The larger squares were first referred to as townships, and they were merely numbered; but later the term township was changed to parish and each was named. The two centre sections in each township were to be reserved for the use of Government, and were not to be granted to any individual.

Dangar speedily got to work, and by October, 1823, he had surveyed an area of 142,000 acres in the townships, of which 28,500 acres were measured for settlers. Dangar had also surveyed most of the Hunter River and a number

¹⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 28, 1848.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, January 10, 1862.

of its lower tributaries. In January, 1824, he reported that the "Black Rivulet" and "Glendon Brook" had been traced.

Surveyor Finch began work near Wollombi early in 1826, and soon afterwards he surveyed the Parishes of Ovingham and Rothbury, as well as tracing the hills on the southern side of the valley. In 1827, Finch traced the Paterson River and some of its tributaries.

Surveyor G. B. White spent a number of years at work in the Hunter Valley. In October, 1828, White surveyed Falbrook and described it as a fine running stream; the country on both sides was very mountainous. Settlers had already occupied their lands and occupied huts, although their grants had not been surveyed. White refers to a stream called by the natives "Carrow." White also surveyed the Williams River in 1830.

Surveyor Dixon mapped the Liverpool Range in 1831, and transmitted a plan in July. He commenced his work at a "cone" which he said was called "Murrulaw" [Murulla.—J. J.]. Dixon traced the Page River and Dartbrook, and marked grants for Miss E. L. McLeay (1280 acres), P. McIntyre (900 acres), H. Dumaresq (640 acres), W. Cox, senr. (2560 acres) and J. Glennis (560 acres). In 1832 Dixon worked on the Wollombi, and in 1832 reported that he had traced the "new line of road to Muswell Creek" and all the ranges in the neighbourhood. He had also traced the old road from Patrick's Plains and surveyed the ranges north of the Hunter in the neighbourhood of Mount Royal.

TOBACCO GROWING.

For a period of sixty or seventy years tobacco was extensively grown in the Hunter district. A newspaper writer in 1827 said¹⁹ :—

.... it was Sir Thomas Brisbane's constant recommendation to new settlers, who were honoured with an interview, "Go to Hunter's River and make your fortune by growing tobacco." This I heard from several settlers to whom it had actually been addressed. It was well the advice was not attended to.

Tobacco was grown as early as 1822. Major Morisset, writing to the Colonial Secretary on March 27, 1822, said²⁰ :—

¹⁹ *Australian*, February 17, 1827.

²⁰ Colonial Secretary's Papers : Mitchell Library, Sydney.

I have sent a cask of Tobacco as a sample of the growth of this part of the country, the remainder will be put to the credit of the Government for the use of the settlement; as soon as the present crop is got in a return will be forwarded.

I am fearful it will not keep long, not having any Molasses or coarse Sugar.

This tobacco was probably grown about Maitland.

A news item in 1832 stated²¹ that a large extent of land had been planted with tobacco, but from the dry conditions many plants had died. Little of the old crop remained in the growers' hands.

In 1830 and 1831 tobacco was cultivated on a very limited scale, and the profit to the grower was "enormous." In 1833 and 1834 almost every farmer turned his attention to the culture of the "weed," and the market was, in consequence, glutted to such an extent that sales could scarcely be effected at any price.²² In 1834 it was stated that growers were endeavouring to improve the method of manufacturing.²³

The quantity of leaf grown in 1844 was 330,000 pounds. Of this quantity Boydell had purchased about 160,000 pounds, and Messrs Walthall & Company 70,000 pounds. The remainder was manufactured mainly by settlers themselves; the smaller manufacturers who had commenced about this time had purchased about one-third of the crop. The price paid for leaf was from 2½d. to 5d. per pound. The total value of the tobacco grown was about £5,500.

Boydell, who was the oldest and largest manufacturer, had purchased about half the crop, which was expected to yield about 112,000 pounds of manufactured tobacco. His product sold at about an average price of one shilling per pound. Walthall's product was worth about one shilling and fivepence per pound. Of the remaining 100,000 pounds perhaps 30,000 pounds would be made up by manufacturers who had recently commenced, and the price they would charge had not been fixed. For the 70,000 pounds made up by the settlers, a slow and uncertain market existed at prices from sixpence to tenpence per pound. The value of the whole of the manufactured tobacco would

²¹ *Sydney Gazette*, December 15, 1832.

²² *Ibid.*, June 4, 1834.

²³ *Ibid.*, April 3, 1834.

be about £10,947.²⁴ A large proportion of the manufactured tobacco was sent to Sydney and a small amount to Port Phillip.

Three manufacturers were engaged in the industry in 1845—Boydell, who made 71,000 pounds of tobacco; Walthall, who manufactured 46,000 pounds; and A. H. Phillip, who prepared 22,000 pounds.²⁵

A news item in 1863 stated that a large quantity of tobacco had passed through Paterson in April, and it was understood that a factory was to be established there. It was estimated that the quantity of the leaf grown in the district would exceed 400 tons, valued at £45,000. It is not clear whether this was the yield for the Paterson and Hunter Valleys, or whether it was the crop from the former district only.

Tobacco was still being grown in the 1880's. A Singleton news item in 1882 runs thus²⁶ :—

It is confidently affirmed that tobacco growers will soon be in a position to triumph over the wool growers, for they can soon have the weed manufactured in the town. . . . The tobacco factory will soon be a local fact.

Shortly afterwards “strings of teams” were reported to be reaching Singleton daily laden with tobacco; the price of the leaf varied from fivepence to sevenpence per pound.²⁷

HUNTER RIVER VINEYARDS.

Wine making was an important industry in the Hunter Valley for many years. One of the earliest vineyards planted was “Dalwood,” which was established in 1828 or 1829 by George Wyndham. In 1872 the vineyard covered sixty-four acres.²⁸ In 1831 W. D. Kelman had an acre under vines, and James Busby (Kelman’s brother-in-law) planted 365 varieties of vines in 1832 on the property. This vineyard was acquired by Lindeman Ltd. in 1914.

The Hunter River Vineyard Association was formed in 1846 as a result of proposals put forward by James King, of Irrawang. In 1851 the Association had ten members—Hickey, of “Osterley,” Hunter River; A. Lang, of “Dun-

²⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, November 30, 1844.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, April 1, 1846.

²⁶ *Town and Country Journal*, November 4, 1882.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1882.

²⁸ *Town and Country Journal*, January 20, 1872.

more"; T. L. Patch, of "Ordunna," Upper Paterson; T. H. Holmes, of Oakendale, Williams River; W. D. Kelman, of Kirkton; H. Carmichael, of Porphyry, Williams River; E. G. Covy, of Gostwyck, Paterson River; Dr Lindeman, of Cawarra, Upper Paterson; C. Boydell, of Camryallyn, Paterson River; and James King, of Irrawang, Hunter River. In 1872 over 600 acres of vines had been planted in the Hunter River district.

COTTON GROWING.

Some experimental work in the cultivation of cotton was carried out in 1851 and in 1862. S. A. Donaldson imported cotton seed, and A. McDougall and Scobie, both of whom had farms near Maitland, grew some plants from this seed.²⁹ The world shortage of raw cotton in the early 1860's, due to the American Civil War, induced experimenters here to attempt to grow cotton commercially. In August, 1862, a meeting was held to consider growing cotton in the Hunter River district. The Hunter River Cotton Growing Association was formed, and it leased about forty-five acres from a farmer named Hickey at Osterley. Twenty acres were sown with cotton by October. Nowland, a farmer near Maitland, also tried out the crop on his farm.³⁰

However, it does not appear that these experiments were successful.

ARROWROOT GROWING.

In 1862, a farmer named Vindin at Louth Park experimented in the growing of arrowroot. He was reported to have six or seven hundredweight in course of preparation.³¹

IRRAWANG POTTERY.

James King, of Irrawang, near Raymond Terrace, developed a pottery industry in the 1830's. The *Sydney Herald* of May 1, 1834, stated that a specimen of brown earthenware from the pottery of a gentleman on the Hunter had been sent to the office. In 1836 King was reported to be making carafes for cooling water, and in the same year he was awarded a medal for the discovery of sand

²⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 30, 1851.

³⁰ *Ibid*, October 29, 1862.

³¹ *Ibid*, August 2, 1862.

suitable for glass. A news item³² in 1836 said that Mr King, after considerable trouble and expense, had succeeded in bringing to perfection the manufacture of earthenware, and specimens were on view at Mr Burdekin's stores. The specimens consisted of bread pans, jugs, butter pans, filters, milk dishes, pie dishes and other articles.³³ The Irrawang pottery was reported to be so good in 1845 that the demand exceeded production.³⁴

PAPER MANUFACTURE.

A news report in 1868 stated that Mr Bryant, the projector of the Hunter River paper mill, was busy making arrangements for the manufacture of paper. His work was being carried on at Dunmore mill, near Maitland.³⁵

OTHER INDUSTRIES.

Some statistics concerning manufacturing in the district around Maitland in 1856 are of interest. There were eight steam flour mills, one brewery, two soap and candle factories, four tobacco factories, one iron foundry, four tanneries and four coal mines at work. In 1855, 183 tons of soap and 168 tons of candles were made, and 38 tons of tobacco. Coal mined amounted to 20,344 tons in 1855, and in 1856 38,292 tons were cut.³⁶

NOTES ON ESTATES.

Segenhoe, a grant to T. Potter Macqueen, M.P., was sold in 1837³⁷; it consisted of 25,000 acres, and the sale price was £1/5/- per acre. The stock—6488 sheep, 590 bullocks, 230 cows and a number of working bullocks—was sold early in 1838 for the sum of £15,536.³⁸

Bolwarra, which was a grant of 2030 acres to John Brown, was up for sale in 1833.³⁹ About 300 acres were cleared, and a two-acre hop garden had been planted. A new dwelling house stood on the property. A news item in 1834 stated that Richard Jones, of Sydney, had purchased the estate. In 1835 the remaining portions of the

³² *Sydney Gazette*, October 20, 1836.

³³ *Sydney Herald*, August 18, 1836.

³⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, September 13, 1845.

³⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 18, 1868.

³⁶ *Maitland Mercury*, February 12, 1857.

³⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, October 14, 1837.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, January 20, 1838.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, March 7, 1833.

property were sold and realized £39,000. Some of the land brought £120 per acre.⁴⁰

The estate of Castle Forbes, originally granted to James Mudie, was advertised for sale in 1840.⁴¹ It consisted of 4320 acres, and was subdivided into 227 lots. James Barker then owned the property.

BUSHRANGING.

In the 1830's the district was terrorised by bushrangers. A report in 1830 stated that the bushrangers had been very daring; two had been shot and arrested, but afterwards they were rescued by a band which had six or eight horses and two pack bullocks. The need of a lock-up in the upper part of the district was badly felt. It was suggested that no place was better situated for a lock-up than the estate of Segenhoe.⁴²

In September, 1830, the road between Paterson's Plains and Wallis Plains was infested by a small number of bushrangers.⁴³

The Government announced the capture of bushrangers in the Hunter River district in October, 1830. They were pursued by a party of Mounted Police under Corporal Quigley, of the 57th Regiment. The police recovered much booty, consisting of cattle, horses, arms, ammunition, and implements of various descriptions. The chase had occupied eight weeks. The Government noted with pleasure the conduct of Hugh McDonald, the overseer on Richard Jones's property, who accompanied the party, and who appeared to have been largely responsible for the successful termination of the operation owing to his influence with the natives, who had proved extremely useful.⁴⁴

Quigley was promoted, and McDonald received a grant of 640 acres; three of the aborigines were each given a medal.

On December 10, 1834, three bushrangers were taken on the estate of Lochinvar by Leslie Duguid, assisted by two Mounted Police.⁴⁵ Reports from the Hunter River

⁴⁰ *Town and Country Journal*, September 26, 1885.

⁴¹ *Australian*, August 13, 1840.

⁴² *Sydney Gazette*, August 31, 1830.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, September 18, 1830.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1830.

⁴⁵ *Sydney Herald*, January 6, 1834.

stated that the conduct of convict servants was very bad, and that a number of runaways were prowling in every direction in search of plunder.

RAILWAYS.

As early as 1839 the construction of a railway was mooted. A. W. Scott asked the Colonial Secretary to allow G. B. White to make a survey for a projected line from Newcastle to Maitland. White was allowed one month in which to carry out the survey.

The prospectus of a company to construct a line from Newcastle to Maitland, and eventually to the Liverpool Range, was published early in 1846. The Great New South Wales Railway Company was provisionally registered in 1853⁴⁶ with a capital of £600,000. Later, the railway construction was taken over by the Government. The first sod of the second portion of the Hunter River railway was turned at Maitland in July, 1855. At that stage the earthworks of the first section from Newcastle to Hexham Road had been completed.⁴⁷ The line from Honeysuckle to East Maitland was opened on April 5, 1859. The section East Maitland to West Maitland was opened on July 27, 1853; West Maitland to Lochinvar, July 2, 1860; Lochinvar to Branxton, March 24, 1862; Branxton to Singleton, May 19, 1869; Muswellbrook to Aberdeen, October 20, 1870; Aberdeen to Sccone, April 17, 1871; Sccone to Wingen, August 1, 1871; Wingen to Murrurundi, April 5, 1872; and Murrurundi to Quirindi, August 13, 1877.

SOME STATISTICS.

In 1828 land granted in the Hunter River and Port Stephens districts amounted to 1,405,953 acres, of which 21,666 acres were cleared and 10,844 acres cultivated. There were 104,123 sheep, 41,319 cattle and 1311 horses in the district. Land granted increased to 1,537,488 acres in 1829, cleared land had increased to 24,527 acres, while 11,348 acres were cultivated. Cattle numbered 46,805, sheep 119,391, and horses 1316.

The Statistical Returns for 831 give some information concerning crops grown. In Maitland district 1661 acres of wheat were cropped, 837 acres of maize, 362 acres of

⁴⁶ *Maitland Mercury*, July 27, 1853.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, July 4, 1855.

barley, 13 of rye, 54 of potatoes, and 22 of tobacco. The wheat yielded 28,636 bushels; maize, 13,369 bushels; barley, 5693 bushels; potatoes, 672 tons; and tobacco, 14,900 pounds.

Patrick's Plains district cultivated 1054 acres of wheat, 625 acres of maize, 54 of barley, 10 of oats, 15 of rye, 15 of potatoes, and 17 of tobacco. In Merton district 389 acres of wheat were grown, 102 acres of maize, and barley 8 acres. Invermein [Scone.—J. J.] figures were : Wheat, 607 acres; barley, 57 acres; maize, 219 acres; potatoes, 8 acres; tobacco, 27 acres; and hops, 2 acres. The yields from these crops were : Wheat, 13,840 bushels; maize, 9745 bushels; barley, 1500 bushels; and tobacco, 37,600 pounds.

In 1836 the number of acres under wheat in the Counties of Brisbane, Northumberland, Hunter and Durham was 27,424. Maize was planted on 7899 acres, while 45 tons of tobacco were harvested. Wheat was planted on 15,114 acres in 1839, maize on 10,112 acres, while tobacco grown amounted to 1505 hundredweight. In 1844, 21,534 acres of wheat were sown, 14,226 acres of maize, and tobacco grown weighed 4890 hundredweights.

Returns for 1860 show that there were 206 holders of agricultural land in the Police District of Patrick's Plains, which included the Counties of Durham, Hunter and Northumberland, and they held 161,310 acres. Of this area 155,508 acres were not cultivated. The crop yields were : Wheat, 22,000 bushels; maize, 25,926 bushels; barley, 400 bushels; rye, 45 bushels; millet, 15 tons; potatoes, 49 tons; sorghum, 243 hundredweights; and hay, 235 tons.

COAL.

Coal was discovered in the Hunter Valley as early as 1830. The following paragraph appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* of June 15, 1830 :

A valuable stratum of coal has been discovered on the farm of Mr. Yeomans, at Hunter River, a small portion of which has been brought to Sydney for the gratification of the curious. The quality of the coal is said to be superior to that in common use and will ignite the same as pitch.

The first attempt to mine coal in the Hunter Valley seems to have been made in 1841. Reference to it was made in the *Sydney Herald* of December 21, 1841 :

We have reason to believe that the country around Maitland, to a great extent, if not the entire valley of the Hunter is intersected by rich coal veins. Messrs. Turner, extensive tanners near Maitland,

work a steam engine which is supplied with coal dug at the spot. Their engine consumes one quarter of a ton of coal per day. In East Maitland, on the rising ground immediately behind the Roman Catholic Chapel, a mine has also been opened, the produce of which we have seen and examined.

It was reported in 1842 that a mine worked by Mr Keddie, of East Maitland, was in full operation and selling coal at thirteen shillings per ton.⁴⁸

In 1846 a mine was opened near Morpeth, and the shaft was sunk to a depth of 45 feet in June.⁴⁹ Apparently this was the mine worked by J. and A. Brown. In December of that year the Hunter River Steamship Company accepted Brown's tender of 5/11 per ton for bunker coal.⁵⁰

John Eales, of Duckenfield, was reported⁵¹ to be opening a mine near Morpeth in 1847, and coal from it was raised in June.

Edward Turner purchased an "extensive coalfield" near Hexham in 1850.⁵² The first cargo of coal from a mine opened by Turner, situated two and a half miles from Hexham wharf, was shipped on the *Currency Boy* in August, 1850. The shipment of 52 tons was sent to the Sydney Gas Company. The mine owners were reported to be applying for an act to permit them to lay down a tram road, and Surveyor Goodall was surveying the proposed line. Apparently the mine was in the direction of Minmi.⁵³

Coal from the Singleton district was referred to about the same time. Excellent samples of coal from Glendon had been brought to Singleton and sold at 10/- per ton. The news item continues⁵⁴ :—

Several innkeepers and others have the luxury of a coal fire to invite their friends to — great comfort these frosty nights.

In November, 1853, miners for Tulip's pits, near Morpeth, were advertised for. About the same time Brown advertised for ten teams to haul coal from his mines to Morpeth.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ *Hunter River Gazette*, April 30, 1842.

⁴⁹ *Maitland Mercury*, June 19, 1846.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1846.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1847.

⁵² *Ibid.*, July 6, 1850.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1850.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1850.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, December 28, 1853.

Coal was discovered on what is now known as "the South Maitland field" in 1856. A newspaper reference to this discovery is quoted below⁵⁶ :—

Mr. Keene, a few days ago discovered close to Mr Knox Child's house at Mount Vincent, in three creeks, five seams of coal, which he considered, from their bituminous quality, horizontal position and geological character to be the same seams that the Agricultural Company are now so profitably working at Newcastle, the upper seam being twelve feet thick.

Bourn Russell worked a seam of "cannel coal" near Maitland in 1856, the sale of which was confined to the locality. The Four Mile Creek mine owners were said to be looking forward to the opening of the railway line and to the improvement of the Hunter River to enable them to get their coal to Newcastle by rail or ship.

Coal raised near Maitland and Morpeth in 1856 amounted to 41,462 tons, of which 16,521 tons were exported. A railway line from Hexham to Minmi was in course of construction in 1856.⁵⁷ Another mine had been sunk near Hexham by Randall in that year.

In 1860 the owner of Glendon estate opened a tunnel into a coal seam which outcropped on Glennie's Creek about six miles from Singleton. About the same time a pit was opened at Rix Creek in the Singleton district. Coal was sold at 10/- per ton at the pit, or 17/6 delivered at Singleton. A large quantity of the mineral was brought to the town from day to day.⁵⁸

The proposal to build a railway from Maitland to Morpeth in the early 'sixties influenced the development of collieries. In 1862 William Farthing sank a pit about midway between Lochinvar and Black Creek, where a seam nearly seven feet thick was struck within sixty feet of the surface.⁵⁹ About the same time the prospectus of the Alnwick Coal Mining Company was published. Alnwick was near Hexham. The owner of the lease, James Donaldson, wanted £8,000 for it.⁶⁰

Dr O'Brien, of Sydney, opened a mine at Woodford,

⁵⁶ *Empire*, January 24, 1856.

⁵⁷ *Maitland Mercury*, October 23, 1856.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, August 2, 1860.

⁵⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 25, 1862.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, August 5, 1862.

about six miles from Morpeth, in 1864,⁶¹ and by June, 1865, it was in production.⁶²

Rix Creek mine was still at work in 1866,⁶³ but the pit was so far from the railway terminus that it could not compete with mines closer to Newcastle. The coal was sold in Singleton, and two men were employed at the mine in winter and one in summer.

About 26 men were employed at Anvil Creek mine, near Branxton, opened by William Farthing and mentioned above.⁶⁴ The estate consisted of 1054 acres, and the mine was worked by Farthing until 1873, when a company was formed to take it over. An additional area of 495 acres was worked on royalty. The coal was conveyed by a branch railway to the Great Northern Line, thence to Newcastle.⁶⁵

Tuck's Rathluba mine, south-west of Maitland, produced about ten tons of coal a day in winter, but only six tons in summer.

A seam of "cannel coal" was brought into production in 1867⁶⁶ by John Mitchell on a property called Bloomfield, about half a mile from Rathluba and about two and a half miles from Maitland. Mitchell struck twelve seams when sinking the shafts, one of which was about eight feet thick.

In 1869 Rix Creek colliery was said to be "one of the most promising industries in the neighbourhood of Singleton." James Singleton, the then proprietor, had spent about £1000 on the works, which sent into Singleton "the finest sample of coal that the colony can produce."⁶⁷

A Mr Harper, of Blandford, was reported to have discovered a seam of coal about three miles from Murrurundi in 1870. Shortly afterwards, a number of gentlemen assembled at Brodie's mill at Haydnton (Murrurundi) to see coal found near the town burned in the furnace. The land on which the seam had been found was rented from the Government by the Rev. J. J. Nash.⁶⁸ It was stated

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, June 27, 1864.

⁶² *Ibid.*, June 13, 1865.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, August 1, 1866.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Town and Country Journal*, August 14, 1880.

⁶⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 3, 1867.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, September 7, 1869.

⁶⁸ *Town and Country Journal*, May 28, 1870.

that the lessee would be in a position in a few days to supply any demand. Two years later the Wingen coal mine, the property of the Rev. J. J. Nash, about half a mile from Wingen, was at work. It was a tunnel mine, the entrance to which was almost on a level with the bed of a creek skirting the foot of the Burning Mountain. A temporary tramway had been laid down for some distance from the mine, and the coal was then dumped into drays for conveyance to the Northern Line.

On April 30, 1868, Keane, examiner of coal fields, reported the discovery of a seam twenty-two-feet thick near Greta. Messrs Vindin and Mitchell then commenced operations on the seam. After considerable expenditure in opening the mine and working it for some time, the concern fell into the hands of E. Vickery, who worked it for a number of years. The machinery was of the most complete kind. The estate covered 2136 acres, which belonged principally to the Clift family.⁶⁹ It was stated in July, 1874, that the "Greta coal mines have now established themselves."⁷⁰ In that year 110 men and boys were employed at the colliery, which was in charge of James Fletcher. The Greta B Pit was completed, as far as sinking was concerned, in May, 1875.

SHALE MINING.

Oil shale was discovered at Anvil Creek near the Greta village reserve in 1868.⁷¹ Soon afterwards Bourn Russell formed the Stony Creek Mining Company to make oil.⁷² The company leased Russell's mine and purchased a building at Lavender Bay originally erected by the Hon. R. M. Robey as a sugar refinery, with the intention of re-erecting it at the mine.

About 1862, Andrew Loder, of Colly Creek, near Murrurundi, discovered kerosene shale on his property. In 1870, Henry Harper, who had been under-manager for Dr Mitchell, of Newcastle, went to Murrurundi to search for coal.⁷³ He examined the shale seam and decided to open a mine, which was named "Harper's Kerosene Shale Mine."

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, August 14, 1880.

⁷⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 3, 1874.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, May 11, 1868.

⁷² *Ibid*, July 14, 1868.

⁷³ *Ibid*, January 24, 1871.

SHIPBUILDING.

Some shipbuilding was done on the Hunter River in its early history. The following news item appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* of September 29, 1828 :—

Mr. Winder, of Hunter's River has lately presented an accession to the marine of Australia in the production of a noble little vessel of 90 tons called the *Currency Lass*. She was built at Hunter's River by Colonial youths and of Colonial materials.

In October, 1831, George Yeomans launched a 90-ton vessel at Wallis Plains. It was said to be the second he had built.⁷⁴

BOILING DOWN.

Boiling down was extensively carried on in the Hunter Valley in the 1840's. In 1844 eleven boiling down plants were in operation, viz., W. C. Wentworth's, Windemere; F. J. King's, Morpeth; A. Blaxland's, Fordwich; H. Scott's, Glendon; R. Pringle's, Anambah; H. Dangar's, Neotsfield; D. C. F. Scott's, Bengalla; J. Pike's, ———; and J. B. Bossley's, Singleton. The various works produced 835 tons of tallow in 1844; two years later, 37,283 sheep and 7852 cattle were boiled down for a return of 884 tons of tallow.

ROADS.

A news item in June, 1826, stated⁷⁵ that the new road between Newcastle and Wallis Plains was open for travellers on horseback. The difficulty of a land communication was therefore at an end. The distance was about eighteen miles, and the "abominable swamp" through which the traveller was obliged to wade in winter up to his chin in water was avoided. It was said to be "a very inferior road," and in wet weather would be hardly passable for carts.

A report to the Colonial Secretary in 1828⁷⁶ informed that official that a road party was opening the highway between Newcastle and Wallis Plains. A section of the road, about four miles long, was swampy, and a special gang of prisoners from Newcastle was employed in raising a bank about twenty-five feet wide through this patch.

Above Wallis Plains the country was of such a description that little or no labour was required to form roads. It was suggested, however, that it would be desirable to

⁷⁴ *Sydney Gazette*, August 13, 1841.

⁷⁵ *Australian*, June 14, 1826.

⁷⁶ Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1828 : Mitchell Library, Sydney.

send a few men to cut down the steep banks on both sides of the streams which the road would cross. It was desirable that the direction of the road beyond Wallis Plains to the upper Hunter should be determined, as many settlers were anxious to fence their properties, but could not do so until the highway had been surveyed. Dumaresq, who wrote the report, said that it appeared the best direction for the roads required in the upper districts was to proceed from Wallis to Patrick's Plains, not by the road then in existence, but by one passing near Coulson's farm.

The Colonial Secretary informed the Surveyor-General (Mitchell) on February 16, 1831, that the Governor thought he should mark the line northward as soon as circumstances permitted, it being a matter of importance to settlers previous to fixing their establishments to know the exact line the highway would follow. Mitchell went to the district early in 1833 and marked the main line of road. G. B. White was instructed on February 18, 1833, to survey the lines which Mitchell had marked. The lines to be surveyed were :—

- (1) From St. Michael's Store Ship (at Morpeth) to Maitland.
- (2) The line from Maitland to where Mitchell's "marked line" took off.
- (3) A line from Maitland to Patrick's Plains.
- (4) A new line from the point of separation of the roads at Patrick's Plains to the reserve at Broke, and a line from the North Road from Broke up the Wollombi.

Surveyor Dixon was to be instructed to measure the portion beyond the Hunter which had been marked from Leamington to Muswellbrook.

These surveys were duly carried out. In May, 1833, the Colonial Secretary informed the Surveyor-General that the Governor requested that the work on the road from Maitland to the upper Hunter should be commenced before men were set to work on any other line except the line to Green Hills [Morpeth.—J. J.], which should be carried on simultaneously with an ironed gang. Work on the Green Hills—Maitland road was begun by a gang of fifty-seven men, and the clearing of the other road commenced in 1834. Tenders for clearing the Maitland—Muswellbrook road were called early in 1834, so it seems this work was not done by a convict gang, although the road forming was.

Concerning the main road through the Hunted Valley, Mitchell wrote :—

The line of road through the valley of the Hunter had originated in one of those Bush tracks which, first adopted fortuitously, are either not worth improving, or being formed are soon faulty in the general direction of the thoroughfare required. With the assistance of G. B. White the direction of the road was marked out from near Maitland to Jerry's Plains. The first mentioned road, although circuitous having been recently made by convict labour had rendered determination of the most eligible line more desirable.

The necessity for determining, on such general principles the direction of the line of communication, was suggested by the question of sites for villages.⁷⁷ On this occasion the villages of Greta, Belford, Warkworth and Wollombi originated.

Surveyor Dixon was instructed to mark out the road which led from Muswellbrook along the valley of Kingdon Ponds to Liverpool Plains in December, 1834. Dixon reported in March, 1836, that he had completed this task, and a plan was forwarded to the Surveyor-General in July. Dixon said that the whole line of road, 44½ miles long, could be made without any difficulty.

Surveyor G. B. White marked a new line of road from Patrick's Plains to Muswellbrook in 1837, which was said to be far superior to the old highway.⁷⁸

When asked by the Surveyor-General whether the line was sufficiently marked by trees or otherwise to enable settlers to follow it, White replied that the trees were fairly marked and that moderately laden drays had been taken along it.

White was instructed to survey a line of road from Newcastle and Maitland to Dora Creek, to which point a road would be marked from Gosford by Surveyor Dalgety.

A new road from Paterson to Morpeth and Maitland by Hinton Punt was said to be "nearly completed" in August, 1841. It had proved an "immense convenience and advantage to those who had much business between the districts of Hunter and Paterson." A large and commodious ferry boat capable of transporting twenty to thirty head of cattle plied across the Hunter and Paterson at each end of the line of road.⁷⁹

A traffic census taken at Anvil Creek from June 2 to July 2, 1856, is of interest. Sixty-two mail coaches carrying 273 passengers, 88 carriages and gigs with 203 passengers, 372 bullock drays with 107 passengers,

⁷⁷ Report on Roads : Mitchell Library, Sydney.

⁷⁸ *Sydney Herald*, August 17, 1837.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, August 19, 1841.

horse drays with 125 passengers, 759 horsemen, 667 foot-passengers, 11,021 sheep, 1140 cattle and 225 horses passed this point during that time.

A similar census was taken at Walden Range, further up the Valley, between May 1 and 31, with the following results : Bullock drays, 184; horse drays, 110; carriages, 56; bullocks, 1867; horses, 139; passengers, 164; foot-passengers, 603; horsemen, 444; cattle, 2691; sheep, 39,953; and horses, 468.⁸⁰

ABERDEEN.

On April 27, 1838, Surveyor Rusden was informed that Mr Potter Macqueen had made repeated applications for the laying out of a town to be called "Aberdeen" at the ford on the Hunter between St Helliers and St Aubins, and the surveyor was asked to make a detailed survey of the ground and to transmit a plan. The Colonial Secretary informed the Surveyor-General on October 9, 1838, that the Governor had approved of the plan of the "township of Aberdeen." In November, 1838, Rusden was instructed to lay out the sections and reserves in the new town.

By 1840 an inn had been erected and a steam mill was nearly completed. Several tradesmen were about to establish themselves, and it was intended to erect a church. Aberdeen had a population of 27 in 1851, and there were five houses in the town. In 1859, at a land sale, 22 lots were sold at prices from £4 to £19/14/- each.⁸¹

Aberdeen was described as a "rising town" in 1861, "with houses springing up in all directions."⁸² In 1866 a steam mill was at work, and there were a post office, lock-up, a store and an inn, with a population of about 100.

A visitor in 1870 says of Aberdeen⁸³ :—

It has a lock-up with one or two policemen to protect its 120 inhabitants, a very primitive building for the Church of England folk, several stores, a large hotel, possessing, perhaps the largest landlady in the colony, a small inn, and a very few cottages comprise the township.

The crossing place on the river was one of the most dangerous places in time of flood, and many lives had been lost there.

⁸⁰ *Maitland Mercury*, July 15, 1856.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, August 4, 1859.

⁸² *Ibid*, July 4, 1861.

⁸³ *Town and Country Journal*, August 6, 1870.

AILSA.

Surveyor Rusden marked out a village on Krui Creek in 1840; the Governor approved of the design, and named the place "Ailsa." In 1866, Ailsa contained three houses and thirteen inhabitants.

BELFORD.

It was stated in April, 1854, that "Mr. Rogers is surveying a new township at Belford," near Black Creek.⁸⁴ Later a news item informed the public that a sale of lots at Belford was to be held on August 24, 1854.⁸⁵ The place was formerly known as "Jump Up Creek."

Belford was described as a "postal village" in 1866, and the district was said to be "an agricultural and pastoral one; the cultivation of the grape receiving considerable attention in the neighbourhood."

BRANXTON.

Branxton had its inn, the "Crown," in 1848, the erection of which cost £700. A subdivision of 194 blocks for building purposes was made in 1848 and submitted to auction on January 26, 1848.⁸⁶

The foundation stone of a Methodist chapel was laid on January 2, 1865.⁸⁷ St Bridget's Roman Catholic church was opened by the Bishop of Maitland in December, 1866.⁸⁸

In 1866 Branxton had a steam mill in operation. There were four hotels in the town, a post office, and a Mechanics' Institute. The population was about 500.

The town was said to be about the size of Lochinvar in 1870. A number of buildings earlier used as inns were otherwise occupied in 1870. There were several stores, two churches, and a public school in Branxton in that year.⁸⁹

BROKE.

Under date November 27, 1831, Major Mitchell referred to the "projected village of Broke (named by me after that distinguished officer, Sir Charles Broke Vere, Bart.)."

⁸⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, April 22, 1854.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, August 9, 1854.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1848.

⁸⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 20, 1865.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, December 22, 1866.

⁸⁹ *Town and Country Journal*, May 7, 1870.

A news item in 1860 stated⁹⁰ that, although the village had been surveyed, it was still a waste, and people were waiting for the sale. A mill had been erected by Mr Blaxland, of Fordwich. In September, 1860, the whole of the lots submitted were sold.

In 1866 the village was known as Broke or Fordwich, in which year an Anglican church school and a private school were both in operation. The village had its post office, and an agricultural implement factory was at work.⁹¹

CAMBERWELL.

Bishop Tyrrell visited Camberwell in 1848,⁹² and a church was then being built. Camberwell was said to be "a small Government village" in 1866 with a population of about 100. It then had two hotels. The post office, known as Camberwell Railway Station, was changed on February 1, 1876, to Ravensworth.⁹³ Ravensworth was the name of Dr Bowman's property; he died there in 1846.⁹⁴ The estate was sold to D. F. Mackay in 1882 for £90,000.

BLANDFORD (OR MURULLA).

A sale of land "in the village of Murulla" was advertised in December, 1856.⁹⁵ In 1866 some of the allotments had been built on. A private village called Blandford developed in the early 1860's, and when the railway was opened a station of that name was opened and the designation "Murulla" ceased to be used.

CESSNOCK.

Cessnock is named after the property of a young Scotsman named John Campbell, who arrived here in 1825, and in October, 1826, he was promised 2560 acres. This land he took up in the lower Hunter Valley in the centre of what is now the South Maitland coalfield. Campbell's death is recorded in the *Australian* of February 20, 1828. The report states he died in Castlereagh Street, Sydney, at the age of twenty-three. He and his younger brother (David) had made considerable improvements on the estate at Cessnock.

⁹⁰ *Maitland Mercury*, July 14, 1860.

⁹¹ *Bailliere's Gazetteer*.

⁹² *Maitland Mercury*, May 17, 1848.

⁹³ *Town and Country Journal*, February 5, 1876.

⁹⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, May 26, 1846.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, December 2, 1856.

The land was granted to David Campbell (who was then residing in Great Britain) on October 29, 1834. David Campbell held the property until 1853, when it was subdivided into farming and village lots. Twenty-six village allotments of one acre each were put up to auction on February 15, 1853, and the spot was said to be used as a camping spot for teams.

Development was slow. *Bailliere's Gazetteer* of 1866 states that Cessnock proper consisted of two houses, with a population of eleven.

In 1871, the population numbered 89; in 1881, 130; and in 1891, 203. In the last mentioned year there were 40 habitations.

CASSILIS AND DALKEITH.

In 1835 a watch-house and court-house were built at Cassilis at a cost of £85. A license for an inn was granted in June, 1846. A report in 1859 stated⁹⁶ that a few new buildings had been erected. A school house had been completed, and a new court house was in course of erection.

A private village of Dalkeith was established⁹⁷ by Messrs Scott, of Glendon, and named after the principal residence of the Duke of Buccleugh. In 1848 the population of Cassilis numbered 49, and there were 11 houses in the village.

Population in 1861 was between 70 and 80. Cassilis, or Dalkeith, had a post office, a police station, and three hotels in 1866.⁹⁸

DARLINGTON.

A post office known as Darlington was established in 1841.⁹⁹ P. J. Cohen began a mail coach service from Hexham to Darlington in 1836, and it ran twice a week.¹⁰⁰ The proposed sale of a new township called "Darlington" was announced in February, 1841.¹⁰¹ In the following year instructions were received from James and Alexander McDougall for the sale of a large area of land at "Prince of Wales Town," Darlington. The "town" was opposite

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, May 21, 1859.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, February 19, 1861.

⁹⁸ *Bailliere's Gazetteer*.

⁹⁹ *Australian*, February 25, 1841.

¹⁰⁰ *Colonist*, January 21, 1836.

¹⁰¹ *Australasian*, February 25, 1841.

Singleton's mill. Two hundred and forty-seven lots and twenty-three farms were to be offered.¹⁰²

The village had a tannery in 1866, and two brickyards were at work. A large number of quarrymen also found employment in the neighbourhood. Darlington had a school in operation, and there was one hotel in the village. Population was about 200.¹⁰³

GRETA.

Surveyor G. B. White was instructed to lay out a village at Anvil Creek, and he informed the Surveyor-General on December 19, 1842, that the survey had been carried out. The design was approved by the Governor-in-Council in October, 1843, and the village named "Greta." There was practically no development there until a mine was opened and coal production began in the early 1870's. A report on Greta in 1874 is quoted below¹⁰⁴ :—

A little over eighteen months ago the place was a verdant wilderness, boasting of two residences, a wine saloon and a private house.

The lots of Government land were sold in the first place for a "mere song." In the course of six months, land rose from £10 to £60 per half-acre. A couple of hotels had been erected, and the town had three large stores besides butchers, a baker and other tradesmen, and a number of private houses. A public school and a Methodist church were being built, and steps were being taken to erect an Anglican church. The mining company had built a number of cottages for its men.

In 1878 Greta had four hotels and four churches, in addition to a public school and school of arts.

A visitor to Greta early in 1874 said he was surprised at the character of the buildings erected near the pit. Forty-eight miners were employed at the mine in addition to labourers. To the left of the railway line a row of slab cottages had been built by the company for the miners. On the opposite side of the line small houses were scattered about everywhere, while occasionally a tent was to be seen. New buildings were being erected.

A private township of Greta was surveyed in 1873,

¹⁰² *Sydney Herald*, March 30, 1842.

¹⁰³ *Bailliere's Gazetteer*.

¹⁰⁴ *Town and Country Journal*, November 14, 1874.

and the lots were put up for sale on August 9, 1873; all were sold at prices varying from £8 to £38.¹⁰⁵

DOUGHBOY HOLLOW.

Doughby Hollow was the name of a station held by Dr Gill in 1848. William Nowland claimed that he gave the name to a small creek on the west side of the range in 1827.¹⁰⁶ Doughboy Hollow was described in 1866 as a grassy flat lying between two hills on the Northern road. It was well known as a camping place for teams, and there was a village reserve at this spot.¹⁰⁷

In January, 1871, it was stated that land was reserved at Doughboy Hollow for a village or township, but at that period the only buildings on the site were two inns.¹⁰⁸

DUNMORE.

Dunmore was originally a grant of 1050 acres promised on April 30, 1822, to George Lang, an elder brother of Dr John D. Lang. Lang named his grant "Dunmore" as "a mark of filial affection towards a revered relation," wrote Lang. The grant consisted partly of a belt of heavily timbered land and partly of alluvial land extending about a mile and a half along the bank of the lower Paterson River. Here George Lang erected a slab house. He died there in 1824, and the land fell to Andrew Lang, a brother. The estate then consisted of 2500 acres, as George Lang had purchased an additional 1500 acres. Portion of Lang's purchase had been promised originally to Standish Harris.¹⁰⁹

Andrew Lang erected a steam mill on the property in 1841.

In 1837, Dr Lang went to Great Britain to induce people to migrate to New South Wales. The *Sydney Gazette* of September 9, 1837, reported that Dr Lang had succeeded in having two vessels sent to the Western Isles to convey to the colony such of the suffering islanders as wished to come here. This was a period of acute suffering in the islands off the coast of Scotland, and some of the islanders were actually starving. The report further

¹⁰⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 12, 1873.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, January 23, 1861.

¹⁰⁷ *Bailliere's Gazetteer*.

¹⁰⁸ *Town and Country Journal*, January 7, 1871.

¹⁰⁹ *Lang's Historical Account*.

stated that the Revs. Tait and Hamilton were to sail from Leith on May 10. Two more clergymen, Revs. McFee (or MsPhee) and Gregor were to accompany Dr Lang, who was expected to sail from Greenock later with the emigrants he had collected. A number of qualified schoolmasters were also to sail for the colony.

Meanwhile arrangements had been made to settle these migrants. It was proposed to place them on Eale's property near Morpeth. However, the Highlanders themselves sent two of their number to examine the proposed locations. They found the land liable to flooding, and decided against settling on it. Andrew Lang then offered to place them on his property, and the offer was accepted. They were placed on a section of the estate which was originally granted to Harris. Twenty-two families settled, comprising 120 individuals.

Later Dr Lang gave some information concerning the conditions on which the newcomers were settled. They had their choice as to whether the land should be cleared or whether they should take it up as clearing leases. If they accepted the land under the latter conditions they would be rent free for four years, and would be supplied with rations at the market price until they were able to obtain a subsistence from the farms. In 1838 Andrew Lang built a school-house, a substantial brick building costing £75, and it was used also as a place of worship. In order to relieve the Highlanders as much as possible of the cost of education, Lang gave the schoolmaster, John Whitelaw, board and lodging free. The number of pupils attending the school in December, 1838, was upwards of eighty.

Some of the Highlanders who came on the *Brilliant* from the Islands of Mull and Islay were later settled on Close's property.¹¹⁰

ELLALONG.

Ellalong village, near Wollombi, contained a few buildings in 1860. A steam mill had just been completed, and the township housed a few tradesmen. A building intended for an inn had been erected by James Hasker, and it was proposed to open a store.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ *Sydney Herald*, August 26, 1841.

¹¹¹ *Maitland Mercury*, October 9, 1860.

The village had a Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic church, a school, a hotel and a mill in 1866. The population numbered about fifty.

HINTON.

In December, 1840, the "township of Hinton," on the estate of R. C. Dillon, was advertised for sale.¹¹² One hundred building lots were offered. Aid for the erection of a Presbyterian church and minister's dwelling was promised by the Government. Plans and specifications were submitted in 1843. A second sale of lots, eighty-three in number, was advertised in 1843.¹¹³ Bowthorne and Hinton estates were under the management of the Loan Company, and they reduced the rent of the good land on the estate from £1 to 15/- per acre and the inferior land from 10/- to 5/-. A wharf was constructed at Hinton in 1844. The nucleus of a Mechanics' Institute was formed in 1845.¹¹⁴ A meeting to discuss the erection of a church was held in September, 1845.¹¹⁵ Three lots for the site of the church were given by A. Livingstone.

Hinton's population was about 200 in 1866. In 1870 the place was described as a small village, with three churches—Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist.¹¹⁶ A School of Arts had recently been erected, and there were three stores and three inns in the village.

ILLALONG.

A news item in 1874 runs thus :—

A new mining township hereafter to be known by the euphonious native name of Illalong may be said to have entered upon existence.

Illalong was a colliery township laid out by the proprietors of the Anvil Creek Mining Company about five miles from Branxton and close to Greta. At a land sale held in June, 1874, 126 lots were sold at an average price of £13/10/- each.

JERRY'S PLAINS.

Jerry's Plains is referred to as early as 1827. A visitor in that year said¹¹⁷ :—

¹¹² *Australian*, December 19, 1840.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, April 16, 1842.

¹¹⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, July 19, 1845.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, September 27, 1845.

¹¹⁶ *Town and Country Journal*, February 12, 1870.

¹¹⁷ *Australian*, February 14, 1827.

Jerry's Plains is a particularly rich and beautiful strip of narrow land, formed by the alluvium of the river, and the debris of the mountains. . . . This little tract extends westward about ten miles along the river, and astonishing to say, is comparatively unknown by the settlers, either new or old.

Jerry's Plains is said to have been named after a convict Irishman.¹¹⁸

In June, 1831, tenders were called for the erection of a barracks for the Mounted Police at Jerry's Plains. Surveyor Dixon was instructed to measure two acres at Jerry's Plains as a site on which a temporary place of worship might be erected.

In October, 1838, the Colonial Secretary asked the Surveyor-General to lay out a village at Jerry's Plains, and G. B. White was instructed on October 22, 1838, to carry out this task.

Although the township was laid out, the site was not built upon, as a private township was established. A news item in 1840 stated¹¹⁹ :—

A new township we hear, is about to be formed at Jerry's Plains. . . . It is contemplated to build, forthwith, a post office, a pound, a comfortable inn and a mounted police station.

Some settlement had apparently taken place in 1841, as a press item mentions that a wheelwright, carpenters, masons, etc., would meet with encouragement, and a teacher also was wanted. A medical man, Dr Jenkins, "late Surgeon Superintendent of the ship *James Moran*," had commenced practice.

9 sale of 23 half-acre lots at Jerry's Plains was advertised in February, 1842.¹²⁰

At a meeting held in August, 1842, it was decided to work for the erection of a church and parsonage. The sum of £349 had already been subscribed.¹²¹

Early in 1846 the erection of a wooden Roman Catholic church was commenced in the village.¹²²

It was stated in April, 1848, that the village had two churches and two inns; a third inn was about to be opened.¹²³

¹¹⁸ *Excursions in New South Wales* : Breton.

¹¹⁹ *Australian*, March 17, 1840.

¹²⁰ *Hunter River Gazette*, February 19, 1842.

¹²¹ *Australian*, August 12, 1842.

¹²² *Maitland Mercury*, January 21, 1846.

¹²³ *Ibid*, April 22, 1848.

A report in 1849 mentions that a school would soon be established.

In 1866 a flour mill was at work in the neighbourhood. The village then had one store and three hotels.¹²⁴

A report in 1880 stated that when a new church was decided on it was erected on the site originally surveyed for it on the Government township. When the Government proposed to build a new post office, police station and school, they too were placed on the original town site, which was about a mile from the centre of population.¹²⁵

LARGS (OR DUNMORE).

Largs received its name in honour of the well-known locality in Ayrshire, Scotland, famous for the battle of Largs fought in 1260, and which effectually secured the freedom and independence of Scotland against the invasion of the Danes.¹²⁶ Dr Lang was responsible for the name. Largs had a school in 1856, a Presbyterian church, two or three stores, two hotels and a post office. A news item in 1857 stated that the township had been increasing, and would soon be a place of some importance. More houses were being erected.¹²⁷

Bailliere's Gazetteer (1866) speaks of "Largs (or Dunmore)," which was then a "small postal village adjoining the Bolwarra estate."

LOCHINVAR.

Lochinvar estate was owned by Leslie Duguid, and in 1839 an advertisement in the press announced that the estate was being subdivided into small farms, and the item continues¹²⁸ :—

A very satisfactory survey of the Property has led the Proprietor at once to avail himself of its natural advantages by laying out a Township.

An advertisement in March, 1840, stated that the "Village of Lochinvar" had been laid out by Knapp into 80 lots, with reserves for a church, market place and watering place.¹²⁹ The greater portion of the estate

¹²⁴ *Bailliere's Gazetteer.*

¹²⁵ *Town and Country Journal*, October 16, 1880.

¹²⁶ *Empire*, May 7, 1856.

¹²⁷ *Maitland Mercury*, November 28, 1857.

¹²⁸ *Sydney Herald*, November 11, 1839.

¹²⁹ *Australian*, March 17, 1840.

(which included many small farms) was sold for nearly £21,000.¹³⁰

On October 24, 1858, a Roman Catholic church was blessed by the Very Rev. Dean Lynch, and service was held in it. The village had four inns in 1860, one of which rejoiced in the name of "Help Me Through the World."

The *Maitland Mercury* of August 11, 1860, referring to the village, said :—

Lochinvar seems to be improving. If by reason of the scarcity of labour, the railway line illustrates the principle of the asymptote, it is likely that a hamlet, at east will gather round the station.

The old village of Lochinvar was about two miles from the railway station opened when the line went through.

The foundation stone of a Methodist church was laid in September, 1863. The new Roman Catholic church (St Patrick's) was opened in December, 1866, by the Bishop of Maitland.

The district was noted in 1866 for its vineyards. The town had a post office and two hotels in that year. The population of the district (which included the villages of Oswald, Luskintyre, Windemere and Knockfin) numbered 457.¹³¹

The township of Lochinvar was described in 1870¹³² as consisting of one main street, and it had three hotels, several stores, an Anglican and a Roman Catholic church, as well as a public school.

A bridge over the Hunter at Lochinvar was finished and opened for traffic on May 24, 1874.¹³³

The estates of Windermere and Luskintyre, near Lochinvar, were purchased by W. C. Wentworth in 1836 for £25,000.¹³⁴ Portions of Luskintyre and Windemere were subdivided and put up for sale in 1851.

LORN.

A grant to Thomas McDougall was named "Lorn," and it was from this property that the suburb of Maitland takes its name. In June, 1850,¹³⁵ the "intended sale of

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, April 4, 1840.

¹³¹ *Bailliere's Gazetteer.*

¹³² *Ibid.*, May 30, 1874.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1874.

¹³⁴ *Sydney Gazette*, May 7, 1836.

¹³⁵ *Maitland Mercury*, June 19, 1850.

100 building and cultivation lots at North Maitland," portion of the estate of A. McDougall, was advertised. Another sale of lots was advertised on July 27, 1850.¹³⁶

MERTON AND DENMAN.

Merton derives its name from Lieutenant Ogilvie's grant promised him on April 7, 1825. A court house and watch house costing £85 were erected at Merton in 1837. At a meeting held in the court house in June, 1845, it was decided to build a church. A brick and stone structure known as St Matthias' was consecrated by Bishop Tyrrell on March 20, 1851.¹³⁷

The foundation stone of a new Anglican church at Denman was laid on December 2, 1872, by the Bishop of Newcastle.¹³⁸

A visitor to the district in 1873 said that the private village of Merton stood close to the site of Denman, but, as people did not like a private speculation in the form of a village, the Government township was established. In 1873 Denman had a mill, a post office, two hotels, two stores, a school, and Roman Catholic chapel, and a "sprinkling of private dwellings."¹³⁹

The "Goulburn River School of Arts" was opened in December, 1885, at Denman. A bridge across the Goulburn named the "Stuart Bridge" was opened for traffic in October, 1885.

In 1866 the district was described as "rich pastoral and agricultural country." It was on the main thoroughfare, by which all fat cattle and sheep for the Maitland and Sydney markets travelled from the north and west. The route from Denman to Sydney was via Jerry's Plains and the Bulga Road, or via Jerry's Plains and Cockfighter's Creek to Maitland. Many Sydney butchers had agencies in Denman for the purchase of cattle.¹⁴⁰

MORPETH.

Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson named the country about the present town of Morpeth Green Hill in 1801. On

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1850.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, April 2, 1851.

¹³⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 29, 1873.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1873.

¹⁴⁰ *Baillier's Gazetteer*.

August 21, 1827, the Surveyor-General refers to the "Parish of Morpeth." The name "Morpeth" was not used for the present town until 1834.

It was early recognized that the land near the town of Morpeth was the most suitable site for a settlement. A visitor to Wallis Plains in 1827 wrote¹⁴¹

Mr. Close's land is out of reach of floods and is more convenient in every respect, but particularly in saving about 20 miles of water carriage; although it joins the government reserve, the sinuosities of the river being so remarkable in this particular spot.

It is apparent that in the late 1820's Green Hill had developed as a river port, and that trade had begun to flow through it. This is evidenced by the fact that two inn licenses were issued in June, 1832—one to John Hillier for the Ilulang Hotel, and the other to James Cracknell for "The Wheatsheaf," described as Illulang.¹⁴²

Further evidence is supplied by an account of "A Trip to the Green Hills" published in the *Sydney Gazette* of October 15, 1831, which runs thus :—

You reach the Green Hills, where the steamer discharges her cargo into the store ship *St. Michael*, which affords a most commodious warehouse, being roofed in and divided into compartments for the reception of goods for the steamer, for, and from Sydney and the place where the passengers land.

When steamers began trading between Sydney and Hunter River, the Green Hills became the terminal port, and much of the produce from the Hunter Valley and the north and west of New South Wales was shipped there. The store ship was a familiar feature of the landscape until 1841,¹⁴³ when it was reported that she had been allowed to capsize. She was then offered for sale.

Up to 1833 there appears to have been no wharf, and the loading and unloading of goods must have been carried on with great difficulty. In June, 1833, Surveyor White was instructed to survey the banks of the Hunter at Green Hills, "so that the most eligible place for a wharf may be determined." In that year a convict gang of fifty men was employed in the construction of a road from Maitland to Green Hills.

In 1834 a Mrs Luke, a recent arrival from England,

¹⁴¹ *Australian*, January 3, 1827.

¹⁴² E. C. Close stated in 1861 that the native name of Morpeth was Illulong (*Town and Country Journal*, January 12, 1878).

¹⁴³ *Australian*, December 11, 1841.

opened a "superior establishment for the education of young ladies" at Green Hills.¹⁴⁴

The first step towards the formation of a town was taken in 1834. S. Lyans, a Sydney auctioneer, announced that he had received instructions from E. C. Close to sell nine allotments at "Illulang." The land was said to be adapted for "wharfs (*sic.*) and private dwellings."¹⁴⁵ A later advertisement referred to the sale at "Morpeth, formerly called Illulaung."¹⁴⁶ It was stated that in consequence of repeated applications of various persons desirous of establishing themselves at the "New Town of Morpeth," the proprietor had determined upon selling the allotments. The land realized good prices. Lot 3 was sold to T. Nowland for £100, lot 5 to J. H. Grose for £100, lot 8 to J. Mudie for £100, lot 10 to John Tawell for £100, lot 14 to R. Brownlow for £33, lot 16 to the same buyer for £32, lot 29 to T. Nowland for £48, lot 31 to the same purchaser for £50, while lot 19 was bought by John Tawell for £26.^{146a}

The Illulang Hotel opened by John Hillier in 1832 was sold to Butler and Analby in 1836 and renamed the Morpeth Hotel.

The Colonial Architect was instructed to prepare plans and specifications for a watch house at Green Hills in 1836.

P. H. Rapsey informed the inhabitants of Hunter River District in December, 1836, that he had nearly completed his extensive stores at the Green Hills, and was prepared to receive colonial produce for storage at a moderate rental.¹⁴⁷

A schoolhouse was erected in 1836. On January 2, 1837, the foundation stone of St James' church was laid, and the building was consecrated on December 31, 1840. In the *Diocesan Report* for 1838, Bishop Broughton wrote concerning this church :—

At Morpeth by almost a rare instance of private resources devoted to the promotion of a public benefit, E. C. Close, Esq., Member of the Legislative Council, had proceeded quietly but steadily in the erection of a Church upon his estate. It is a handsome, capacious

¹⁴⁴ *Sydney Herald*, April 3, 1834.

¹⁴⁵ *Sydney Gazette*, May 31, 1834.

¹⁴⁶ *Sydney Herald*, July 17, 1834.

^{146a} *Ibid.*, July 24, 1834.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, December 19, 1836.

brick building, cased with stone, and is designed to have a tower of corresponding dimensions, which, from the site on which it stands, will form a fine object over a large extent of country. The Committee are aware that, this Township being at the head of the navigation of the Hunter, a considerable population is very rapidly collecting, to whose best interests the donation which Mr. Close is making of a Church, with a school house already erected will contribute, it may be hoped in a most essential degree.

A post office was opened in 1838. A stockade for an iron gang consisting of six wooden huts was commenced in 1837.

More land was sold in 1840. Twenty lots were put up for sale. The advertisement mentioned that a steam mill was in full operation.¹⁴⁸ Later in the same year 100 lots at "Closebourne" were to be submitted for sale.

Early in 1841 35 lots were offered for sale, some near Portus's steam mill. Fredeick Nainby established a soap works at Morpeth in 1844.¹⁴⁹

A Methodist church costing £90 was opened for service on August 23, 1846.¹⁵⁰

Wells' Gazetteer, published in 1848, contains information about Morpeth :—

. . . . it at present contains about 635 inhabitants, an Episcopalian church and parsonage, a Wesleyan chapel, a ladies' school, and two day schools; five inns, one steam mill, a soap and candle factory, five large stores, some excellent shops, 37 stone and brick buildings, and about 117 dwellings; steamers constantly ply between this place and Sydney; coal promises to be abundant at a very short distance from this river. The land is the property of E. C. Close, Esq., who has from time to time disposed of portions of it on building leases. The extensive wharf of the Hunter River Steam Navigation Company is here, and throughout the greater part of the year there is a daily communication to and from the metropolis by the steam vessels of the Company; a considerable number of sailing vessels also trade between this place and Sydney. There is a pretty church dedicated to St. James; the land was given by Mr. Close, who bore one-half of the expense of the building, the Government bearing the other half; the clergyman from East Maitland officiates every Sunday afternoon. A coal mine is in actual operation under the direction of Mr. Close, jun., also the extensive steam flour mill of Mr. John Portus. About two acres on the bank of the river are used as a Government wharf; an officer of the Custom house from Newcastle is stationed here.

¹⁴⁸ *Australian*, July 21, 1840.

¹⁴⁹ *Maitland Mercury*, August 3, 1844.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, August 29, 1846.

At a land sale in 1853, 19 lots were sold for £2457 at prices varying from 31/- to 66/- per foot.¹⁵¹

It was stated in 1854 that the church which had been in the course of construction for many years for the members of the Church of Scotland was so far completed as to be in a condition to be used, and that the first service had been held in it on November 26, when the Rev. W. Purves preached in the morning and the Rev. James Nimmo in the evening.¹⁵²

In the 'fifties and 'sixties Morpeth was a very busy place, and the produce of the country to the north and west was shipped there. Coal, wool, maize, tallow, hides, hay and barley were amongst the products placed aboard the coastal steamers. Teams from as far west as Dubbo carried wool and other primary products to Morpeth for shipment.

Under the caption, "Improvements at Morpeth," the *Maitland Mercury* of August 28, 1856, described the town :

The High Street, not long ago scarcely a street at all, now shows a fair display of cottages—slab, weatherboard and brick—with buildings of a public character also. Of these a Primitive Methodist Chapel may be mentioned, erected within the last eighteen months and recently opened. . . . Within the period named cottages of a very superior description have been built by Mr. Murnane in this street. . . .

In Swan Street several new buildings have gone up recently. In the neighbourhood of the A.S.N. Company's wharf, Mr. Murphy's inn is a very respectable brick erection of two storeys. . . . Two buildings are still in the course of erection, one of brick, by Mr. O'Keeffe and intended I believe for a store; and the other by Mr. Ingall, nearly opposite the new company's wharf and intended for a public house. The two shops occupied by Messrs. Sampson and Beaney have been built also, if we mistake not within the last eighteen months.

The new residence of E. C. Close, Esq., is the work of the greatest magnitude.

In 1860 there were seven hotels in the town, viz., Settlers' Arms, Swan Street; Rose, Shamrock and Thistle, Swan Street; Morpeth Hotel, Swan Street; Rose of Cashel, Swan Street; Commercial Hotel, Queen's Wharf; Globe Inn, Swan Street; and the Hunter River Steam Packet Inn, Swan Street.

Morpeth telegraph office was opened for use in May,

¹⁵¹ *Maitland Mercury*, June 4, 1853.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, December 16, 1854.

1860.¹⁵³ A School of Arts was established in the same year, and a reading room opened in the court house. The inaugural lecture was delivered by Canon Boodle.¹⁵⁴

A building intended for use as a court house, post office and telegraph station was almost completed in September, 1862.

A company to construct a railway from the northern line at East Maitland to Morpeth was formed in 1861, but it was dissolved in 1862. In April, 1862, the Government called tenders for the line, and the first sod was turned in June of that year. The railway was opened on May 2, 1864; at that stage it terminated about a mile and a half from the wharves of the steamship companies, and it was not until 1870 that the line was extended to the river front.

It was reported in 1864 that shoots were to be erected for the shipment of coal. These shoots were not very popular with coal shippers.

A news item in 1867¹⁵⁵ stated that the church at Morpeth was to be enlarged by the addition of a chancel and vestry, and that the Hon. John Campbell had offered to defray the cost.

A visitor in 1870 described Morpeth:—

The little township should have thriven but the proprietor wanted business tact and drove the trade to West Maitland. There is very little doubt that if the late E. C. Close had properly laid out his estate, and sold every other allotment, and let the others upon a building lease, a fine revenue would now be enjoyed by his survivors. . . .

Morpeth may be said to consist of two streets running parallel with the river, the line of railway going along its banks, with several short cross streets. Its church, opposite the Bishop's residence, is one of the prettiest and most romantic and English looking in the colony. . . .

There is an infant school and a school for older children . . . near the church, also a Roman Catholic and Public School. The school house is also the Roman Catholic place of worship. The Wesleyans have a chapel and the Primitive Methodists have one also.

. . . It has a bonded store, D. Sim's Ironworks, and a Court house with a clock. Its member of Parliament has a general store, and there are several others. There are five inns, the town formerly supported eleven. There is a mill on the bank of the river—now

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, May 26, 1860.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, June 2, 1860.

¹⁵⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 19, 1867.

quiet. Before the railway came, Mr. Portus, the owner was making money fast.¹⁵⁶

In 1872 the population was 1700, 130 less than in 1862.

A news item in 1878 said¹⁵⁷ :—

The town of Morpeth, for a long time almost stationary, seems to have reached a more promising point in its history, if we may judge from the fact that, whereas there was a number of tenements empty and going to decay, dwelling houses are now in demand, and as a result, the untenanted buildings are now being renovated for occupation.

It was reported in 1886¹⁵⁸ that :—

Some new buildings have lately gone up and some old structures have been renovated, which is indicative that Morpeth has some go in it yet.

MURRURUNDI.

A post office was established at Murrurundi in 1837, and this formed the nucleus of a settlement. In July, 1839, the Colonial Secretary informed the Surveyor-General that the Governor requested that "measures for the laying out of a village at Murrurundi" should be taken.

Referring to the locality in the issue of May 25, 1841, the *Australasian Chronicle* wrote :—

This is now becoming a very popular district, as there are several very fine buildings in a state of forwardness. The Township of Murrurundi is considered by every person acquainted with its situation likely to be a very flourishing place. . . . It does a great credit to the judgment of the Assistant Surveyor General, Captain Perry, as a more eligible site could not be selected.

In May, 1841, the Rev. Father Lynch, Roman Catholic chaplain of Maitland, visited Murrurundi and laid the foundation stone of St Joseph's chapel on a site given by Mr Thomas Haydon.¹⁵⁹

Early in 1842 Henry Dangar began the erection of an inn, and several stores and dwellings were also being built.¹⁶⁰

Bishop Broughton visited Murrurundi in 1842 and preached in the court house. This was the first occasion when an Anglican service had been held in the town. The

¹⁵⁶ *Town and Country Journal*, March 5, 1870.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, August 3, 1878.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, June 26, 1886.

¹⁵⁹ *Australasian Chronicle*, May 25, 1841.

¹⁶⁰ *Hunter River Gazette*, February 12, 1842.

site for a church to be erected as soon as funds would permit was also decided upon.¹⁶¹

It was reported early in 1843 that the Court of Petty Sessions previously held at Scone was to be removed to Murrurundi. The news continued¹⁶² :—

Murrurundi has, owing to its remote position, become the resort of a gang of cattle stealers and other loose characters.

J. P. Townsend, who visited New South Wales in 1847, described Murrurundi¹⁶³ :—

As Murrurundi affords a fair specimen of an inland town I will endeavour to sketch it. . . . We have two inns, both well built. There is a slab built Roman Catholic Chapel, with broken windows and otherwise much out of repair, and behind it an open graveyard. . . . There are two or three brick cottages, and a tolerable sprinkling of bark huts, and at a little distance in the bush is the court house. Here divine service is performed once a month by a clergyman of the Church of England, who travels twenty five miles for the purpose, and the magistrate's clerk gives the responses. A Roman Catholic priest comes from Maitland four times a year to shrive his flock at the slab built chapel. He also catches every stray drunkard of whatever denomination he can lay his hands on and insists on his becoming a tee-totaler. There is a large store, where everything that can possibly be required in the bush is to be bought. In one of the bush huts you would find a good-natured, intelligent and comfortable looking medical man, who came out in charge of emigrants, and who has not exactly made up his mind when he shall return. . . . The river Page runs, or rather lingers in the rear of the town. The people seem happy and contented, and as all of them have cattle running on the waste land, they are at no loss for meat.

Murrurundi had a population of 52 in 1846, and there were eleven houses in the town. Haydownton, a private town adjoining Murrurundi, had twenty-two houses.

In November, 1849, a meeting was held in connexion with a proposal to erect a Presbyterian church on land given by T. Haydon.¹⁶⁴

A press item in June, 1850, stated that a brewery was to be erected. A National schoolhouse was built in 1851.¹⁶⁵

It was stated in April, 1851, that the Presbyterians were occupying a "neat little house as a temporary place of worship," and that a committee had been formed to

¹⁶¹ *Journal of Visitation*, 1843.

¹⁶² *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 27, 1843.

¹⁶³ *Rambles and Observations in New South Wales*, 1849.

¹⁶⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, December 1, 1849.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, September 1, 1849.

obtain land on which to erect a church.¹⁶⁶ A Presbyterian church was opened in 1856.¹⁶⁷

An Anglican church was opened on January 27, 1856¹⁶⁸; it was a wooden building. The Rev. Child, of Seone, performed service every four weeks after a ride of twenty-five miles. The building was not quite complete. Mr Warland gave a piece of land to help the church.

The population of Murrurundi in 1856 was 88, and the town had thirteen houses.

In 1858 houses were scarce and tradesmen wishing to settle could not procure one, so it was decided to build more cottages. A contract was let for a stone church for the Roman Catholics, and a residence for the Anglican clergyman was also to be built in 1858. The Roman Catholic church was dedicated on February 19, 1860, by Archbishop Polding.¹⁶⁹

A new hospital was begun in 1860, and the first pile of a bridge over the Page River was driven in October. It was reported in 1861 that the Benevolent Society had erected the hospital structure, which was not furnished at that period.¹⁷⁰ The bridge referred to above was opened in September, 1861, and named the "Arnold Bridge."¹⁷¹ Meetings were held in 1861 to consider the establishment of a Mechanics' Institute. A branch of the Australian Joint Stock Bank was opened in temporary premises in 1864. In the following year a bank building was erected.

By 1866 the population had increased to 322 persons.

A news item in 1867 said : "It may be truly said that this town has gone ahead in the last four years."

Murrurundi then had four churches, a Mechanics' Institute, a gaol, court house, hospital, four hotels and eight stores.¹⁷²

A private settlement, the village of Haydnton, had been established across the Page River, in which stood the Roman Catholic church referred to above as well as other buildings.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, April 5, 1851.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, October 23, 1856.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, February 2, 1856.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, February 28, 1860.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, February 14, 1861.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, September 17, 1861.

¹⁷² *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 3, 1867.

Like most country towns of the time, Murrurundi had its mill, owned in 1870 by A. Brodie, and another store-keeper. J. L. Tebbutt also had a mill. Private houses in that year were said to be few, and chiefly built of wood. The Anglican church was described as "a rickety old wooden erection likely to give way to a brick, or stone church ere long." The Methodist church was a wooden building also.¹⁷³

The foundation stone of a new stone Anglican church called St Paul's was laid on April 24, 1873.¹⁷⁴ The building was opened in July, 1874, and a School of Arts was completed in the same year.¹⁷⁵

MUSWELLBROOK.

The earliest reference to the name so far traced occurs in 1827, when a newspaper writer refers to "Muscle Creek."¹⁷⁶

Henry Dangar, when on a general survey of the Hunter Valley, commenced in 1822 and carried on for some years later, had instructions to reserve lands in each township¹⁷⁷ for the use of the Government, and there is no doubt that Muswellbrook stands on one of the reserves made at that time.

By 1833 settlement had progressed to such an extent as to make it desirable that a township should be planned on the reserve. Consequently the Surveyor-General was requested to have a plan of a township at Muscle Brook prepared. Surveyor Dixon was instructed on August 5, 1833, to prepare a plan of the reserve at Muscle Brook. Dixon complied with his instructions, and the plan was forwarded to the Surveyor-General in the following month. Dixon reported on the reserve in the following terms :—

The ground coloured light green shows the flooded land, which is rich alluvial soil, and although not fit for building is well suited for Gardens, and etc., and those who have allotments on the high ground will be anxious to have some of this ground, which I think is oily overflowed in very high floods.

¹⁷³ *Town and Country Journal*, August 6, 1870.

¹⁷⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 28, 1873.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, July 31, 1874.

¹⁷⁶ *Australian*, February 14, 1827.

¹⁷⁷ The "township" of the 1820's was equivalent to the modern parish.

The banks of the River are of alluvial soil and generally very steep with a depth of from 40 to 50 feet to the bed of the River with only fording places for cattle.

Muscle Brook is dry at this period with the exception of three holes of Water, a sand bed with Steep alluvial banks from 30 to 40 feet deep; where the new North Road crosses it is about two chains from bank to bank. . . . The West side of the North Road should be laid out in allotments for sale, and on the East such portions reserved for Government purposes as may appear necessary, the top and sides of the ranges are all good sound building ground and fit for building purposes if the town should ever be of any extent.

The "Plan of the Town of Musclebrook" was gazetted on October 23, 1833. A copy of the approved plan was sent to Surveyor G. B. White in November, 1833, and he was requested to mark out the streets and sections.

The growth of the town was slow. The population in 1840 was 215, and there were 41 houses built. Little information is available about Muswellbrook in its early years. The press rarely mentioned it, probably because of its remoteness.

A post office was established in 1837, and mail was despatched to it twice a week. A Mounted Police barracks was erected in 1839. A sum of £750 for the erection of a court house was placed on the Estimates in 1840.

Probably the earliest industry established in Muswellbrook was a steam flour mill built for George Chivers. It was reported that it would be ready to receive grain for grinding in December, 1841.¹⁷⁸

An item in 1842 reads thus¹⁷⁹ :—

Our town has received a great addition to its appearance by an extensive range of buildings which Mr. Stanley has just completed, comprising a mansion house, shops for a butcher, a chandler and a barber.

A Temperance hall was opened in February, 1845. In June, 1844, it was reported that a Mr Kerr was erecting buildings for a soap factory and boiling down works.¹⁸⁰ George Chivers, referred to above, began to manufacture cloth in 1844. A news item in 1844 states¹⁸¹ :—

A good opportunity presents itself here for the establishment of a few respectable tradesmen, for instance a wheelwright and harness maker and saddler, and a tailor would doubtless find a steady demand for their services.

¹⁷⁸ *Hunter River Gazette*, December 11, 1841.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, January 8, 1842.

¹⁸⁰ *Maitland Mercury*, June 29, 1844.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, November 30, 1844.

Great quantities of wool pass here daily, much greater than we have ever witnessed at this early period, but the scarcity of the needful forces it into the market.

The abandonment of the Port Macquarie line from New England has, this season, increased the thoroughfare to Morpeth via Muswell Brook.

The Governor visited the Hunter in 1844, and the Muswellbrook correspondent of the *Mailand Mercury* regretted that his Excellency could not visit the town. The correspondent said¹⁸² :—

Around us are rising splendid dwelling houses, manufactures and other establishments required by the increasing population of our township and district.

A curious item appeared in the press early in 1845¹⁸³ :

The extraordinary number of births we have had in this neighbourhood for the last few months, combined with the badness of the season would, to a Malthus, be appalling. Do you think the recent appearance of the comet has anything to do with it?

Improvements in the town were noted in 1845¹⁸⁴ :—

Our township is fast improving, a number of buildings are now going on, and a good many more contemplated, when tradesmen can be had in the shape of masons, bricklayers and stonecutters.

Extensions to the town on the southern side were surveyed in 1845. There were 47 houses in Muswellbrook in 1846.

Dr John Dunmore Lang refers to the town in 1850 in the following words :—

It is a mere straggling village occupying four times the space it ought to have done for the convenience of all concerned. There seems but little land in the neighbourhood fit for cultivation.

Dr Lang preached in the Presbyterian church, which was a "neat brick building."

The construction of a new court house was begun in 1850, and the building completed in July, 1851.¹⁸⁵

A pessimistic note was struck by a press correspondent in 1851¹⁸⁶ :—

Drought has driven away several inhabitants. No fewer than six families have removed or are contemplating removal. Some seem to think Muswellbrook will become a deserted village.

The flour mill established by George Chivers in 1841 was purchased by Mr Portus, of Morpeth, in 1853 or 1854.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, November 23, 1844.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, January 4, 1845.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, March 29, 1845.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, July 9, 1851.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, March 8, 1851.

It had apparently ceased to work. A report in 1854 said the mill was in charge of Joseph and Alfred Denison.¹⁸⁷

John Henderson, who visited New South Wales in 1850, said Muswellbrook was a small village where there was a wretched inn.

At a meeting held early in 1857 it was decided to form a Mechanics' Institute. However, the institution does not appear to have had a long life, as a public meeting was held on September 24, 1862, when it was again decided to establish a Mechanics' Institute.¹⁸⁸ A reading room was opened in the court house shortly afterwards, and the books of the old institution were handed over.¹⁸⁹

It was reported in December, 1859, that the Muswellbrook gaol was nearly completed. In 1860 a news item stated that a few good buildings were being erected, and that the new gaol was "quite an ornament to the town."

The erection of a hospital to cost £950 was commenced in August, 1862.¹⁹⁰ A branch of the Australian Joint Stock Bank was opened in 1865.

A pressman who visited the district in 1866 wrote as follows:—

Here, as at Patrick's Plains, there are numerous large estates, granted or purchased in the early days of the colony and comprising thousands of the choicest acres in the district. They are used in connection with up-country stations, the richness of the feed telling very quickly upon the stock brought down from the New England country and rapidly converting store cattle into beef fit for the most fastidious butcher. The greater part of the country, not only the purchased land but that leased . . . has been fenced in, and fencing is still being carried out most extensively so that before long the whole district will be one vast series of vast paddocks. . . . Free selectors are not very numerous—the greater part of the country has been picked over by large proprietors.¹⁹¹

The reporter stated that the free selectors had mainly taken up land on the Goulburn, Wybong, Muscle and Doyle Creeks and Rouchell Brook. Since the introduction of the Robertson *Land Act*, 189 selectors had taken up 12,566 acres of land. Muswellbrook was said to be a "thriving little township" and the population had increased considerably.

¹⁸⁷ *Maitland Mercury*, May 31, 1854.

¹⁸⁸ *Singleton Times*, September 27, 1862.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1862.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, August 13, 1862.

¹⁹¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 3, 1866.

The railway to Muswellbrook was opened by the Earl of Belmore on May 19, 1869.

A description of the town in 1870 mentioned an extensive woolwashing plant at work, a flour mill, and a brewery which worked only in summer. A tannery was about to be established. There were few agriculturists in the district, and most of the land was in the hands of wealthy freeholders.¹⁹²

CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

A meeting of the subscribers to a fund for the erection of a church and parsonage at Muswellbrook was held at the Police Office on June 10, 1839, when a committee of management was appointed.¹⁹³

Bishop Broughton visited Muswellbrook in July, where he met the Rev. N. Gore and made arrangements for his establishment as incumbent. The church was completed to the height of the wall. The design was based on that of the Codrington chapel in Barbadoes. The parsonage was roofed, but both buildings were incomplete for want of funds.

In his *Journal of a Visitation for 1845*, Bishop Broughton, being at Muswellbrook in October, wrote :—

On 28th October I went to the parsonage at Muswellbrook, the residence of the Rev. W. F. Gore . . . found the church cracked, but satisfied that the fractures arose only from the weight of the roof. I suggested the means of arresting the apprehended ill consequences.

The church, named St Alban's, was consecrated by the Bishop on October 29, 1845, and the cemetery was also consecrated on the following day. In 1850, a chancel with a Gothic window and two new windows in the church itself were added.¹⁹⁴

In 1864 it was decided to build a new church, designs for which were prepared by Gilbert Scott of London. Tenders were invited in September, and the foundation stone was laid on December 11.¹⁹⁵ The building was opened on June 17, 1869, and cost about £72,000. An organ was presented by Mr Wilson. The glass windows were the work of Horton of Frome, Somersetshire, and the

¹⁹² *Town and Country Journal*, July 23, 1870.

¹⁹³ *Australian*, June 18, 1839.

¹⁹⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, June 8, 1850.

¹⁹⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 21, 1864.

cast window was done by Clayton Bell of London. The stone used in the structure came from St Heliers.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

In December, 1837, it was reported that the Presbytery, then sitting in Sydney, had decided that the Rev. Anderson should proceed to "Musclebrook" and Invermein, there to take up duty.¹⁹⁶ The work of erecting a Presbyterian church was commenced in 1843, and in June of that year the Government agreed to give aid towards the project.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

A report from Muswellbrook in 1844 stated that a committee was waiting for tenders for the erection of a church.¹⁹⁷ It was stated in 1860 that "the Roman Catholic Chapel, which is fast progressing, bids fair to be a very handsome building."¹⁹⁸ The church was completed in 1861.¹⁹⁹

WESLEYAN CHURCH.

Although a move was made to erect a Wesleyan church in 1849,²⁰⁰ it was not until March 17, 1862, that the foundation stone was laid.²⁰¹ The building was opened on September 28, 1862.²⁰²

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

No school appears to have been in existence until 1838, when a private institution was established, which 23 pupils attended. A Presbyterian school was opened in 1842, and the teacher was John Ferguson. A teacher's residence and school were in course of erection in 1851.²⁰³

The Muswellbrook Grammar School was opened by Mr Plumb in 1860.²⁰⁴ A Roman Catholic school was established in 1862,²⁰⁵ and a new building was being erected in 1871. Another school was built near the church in 1885.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, December 14, 1837.

¹⁹⁷ *Maitland Mercury*, December 12, 1844.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1860.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1861.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1849.

²⁰¹ *Singleton Times*, March 23, 1862.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, October 4, 1862.

²⁰³ *Maitland Mercury*, March 8, 1851.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, November 27, 1860.

²⁰⁵ *Singleton Times*, August 23, 1862.

²⁰⁶ *Town and Country Journal*, January 3, 1885.

SCONE.

Major Mitchell relates an interesting story about his visit to the district on his way north in 1831. His account is as follows²⁰⁷ :

The party moved off and passed the farm of an old man whom I had assisted some years before in the selection of his land. I rode to see him; he was busy with his harvest but left the top of his wheat stack on seeing me, and came running up, cordially welcoming us to his dwelling. A real scotch bonnet covered the brow of a face which reminded me, by its characteristic carving of the "land of the mountain and the flood." . . . The old man was very deaf, but in spite of age and deafness, his sharp blue eye seemed to express the vigor of his mind. He had buried a wife in Scotland and had left there a numerous family, that he might become its pioneer at the Antipodes. He had thus far worked very successfully, and was beginning to reap the fruits of his adventurous industry. . . .

When I was about to mount my horse, he enquired if I could spare five minutes more, when he put into my hand the copy of a long memorial addressed to the Government which he took from among the leaves of a very old folio volume of Pilscottie's *History of Scotland*. This memorial prayed, that whereas Scone was in the valley of Strathhearne, and that the pillow of Jacob which had been kept there as a coronation stone of the Kings of Scotland, was fated still to be where their dominion extended, and as this valley of Kingdon Ponds had not, as yet, received a general name that it might be called Strathhearne, etc.

In 1836 application was made by certain settlers of the Hunter River district for the laying out of the "Township of Scone," and the Surveyor-General was instructed on October 5, 1836, to have the land marked out into allotments. Surveyor Dixon made a survey of the site, which was regarded as imperfect, and Surveyor Ralfe was requested to furnish a fresh plan. A design for the "village of Invermein" was sent to the Governor in 1837, and the village was gazetted on September 5, 1837, not as "Invermein," but as Scone. The Surveyor-General persisted in the use of the name "Invermein," and was reminded by the Colonial Secretary on June 30, 1838, that the village was named "Scone," and not Invermein. However, the name "Invermein" persisted for some time afterwards. In September, 1838, a store was opened by Wilkie and Smith and described as "St. Aubin's Store, Invermein."²⁰⁸ An inn called the "Bird in Hand" had already been established.

207 *Eastern Australia*, Vol. 1, pp. 21-22.

208 *Australian*, September 11, 1838.

The Rev. John Morse was appointed to Scone on September 13, 1839, at a salary of £150. Work on the erection of an Anglican church was begun in 1838. Bishop Broughton paid a visit to Scone in 1840, and wrote a report on it :—

At Scone I had the pleasure of finding an excellent parsonage house, nearly in a habitable state, and the church adjoining it rising quickly above the foundation. The progress thus made I attribute very much to the good will of Mr. William Dumesq. I do not refer as much to the donations which he has devoted to the work (they do not amount to less than £500) as to the superintendence which he has exercised over the work, and the judicious management of the workmen.

(*To be continued.*)

Sydney Link with Florence Nightingale.

By G. A. KING (Member of Council).

The commemoration recently of the birthday of Florence Nightingale in 1820 was a reminder of a woman whose initiative and persistence was responsible for the first organization of nursing on a modern footing. She began her work in the Crimea War, and devoted the remainder of her life to a self-imposed task which earned for her the affectionate title of "The Lady with the Lamp."

The Florence Nightingale Memorial Committee of Australia keeps alive the heroine's memory by providing scholarships and bursaries for nurses to take post-graduate courses in England.

The Nightingale Wing of the Sydney Hospital is a distinct link between Florence Nightingale and Sydney. The wing, which bears her name, was begun in 1867 for the accommodation of the nursing staff at Sydney Hospital. The plans of the building had been submitted to and approved by Miss Nightingale, and the wing was named after her. The building was completed in 1868, and is zealously regarded by the hospital authorities.

Some time ago the writer asked a responsible official of the hospital if the name of Florence Nightingale is still perpetuated in the building, and the official replied with some warmth, "If any attempt is ever made to change the name, the hospital will fall down."

It has often been suggested that Florence Nightingale visited Australia in the 'seventies of last century, but that is not so. The fact is that Sir Henry Parkes and Miss Nightingale engaged in an extensive correspondence, and

Miss Nightingale actually nominated Miss Lucy Osburn, who was in charge of the nursing side of Sydney Hospital from 1868 to 1884, her official title being Lady Superintendent. Several nursing sisters also came to Sydney on Miss Nightingale's nomination.

"The Lady with the Lamp," in addition to reforming the nursing services, took a keen interest in the protection of native races, including the aborigines of Australia.

Sir Henry Parkes had in his private library a volume autographed and presented to him by Miss Nightingale, and dated "London, April, 1875."

Florence Nightingale was born in Florence, Italy, on May 12, 1820, and died in London on August 13, 1910, in her 90th year. In 1907 she received the Order of Merit from King Edward VII., being the first woman to receive that honour.

Notes and Queries.

By JAMES JERVIS, A.S.T.C. (Fellow),
Honorary Research Secretary.

Bush and grass fires have caused havoc from the foundation of settlement in New South Wales up to the present time. David Collins records that in December, 1792, the weather was extremely hot, and that on the fifth of that month the country was everywhere on fire. The grass on the hill on the west side of Sydney Cove caught alight, burnt a house, destroyed gardens and fences, and threatened every thatched hut. It was with difficulty got under control. The country about Parramatta and Toongabbie was alight and much damage was done.

In June, 1797, Hunter reported to the British Government that owing to the excessive heat and drought of the previous summer much public and private property had been destroyed by fires. Collins mentions these fires, which occurred in January of that year. A wheat field near Parramatta, known as the "Ninety Aires," was threatened. To save it, the gaol-gang was called out and told that if the fire could be beaten out the leg-irons would be knocked off each prisoner. The men were provided with bushes to beat out the flames and the wheat was saved; the promise made to the men was kept, it might be added.

Hunter reported the losses occasioned by these fires, and, in his reply, the Duke of Portland wrote:—

"In order to remedy so alarming an evil in future, it occurs to me that it will be proper to oblige all persons holding farms adjoining to the waste and uncultivated lands to keep plowed up so much thereof, between the cultivated parts and the wastes as shall be judged to be sufficient to stop the progress of the fire from the

latter. It will also be highly proper to take the same precaution with regard to all lands belonging to the Crown, and in addition thereto, to make a wide trench or ditch where the situation wil allow of it"

In this suggestion we find the origin of the practice of making firebreaks to check bush fires.

* * * * *

The dingo, which still worries the flocks of the pastoralists in Australia, has been a nuisance for nearly a century and a half. In 1823 the Agricultural Society offered a reward of "half a dollar" for every brush of a native dog brought to a member of that organization. A prize of eight dollars was offered as a reward to the man who would have killed the greatest number of dingoes by the first Thursday in October, 1823. As a result, it is recorded that 387 dogs' tails were paid for.

Dingoes were to be found in the bush around Sydney, and in what is now the Granville district traps were set for them, and as a consequence of this practice a road—the Dogtrap Road—was named, a name it retained until 1879, when it became the Woodville Road.

The *Sydney Gazette* of November 19, 1831, reported that native dogs were so numerous on the Liverpool Road that it was dangerous for women and children to pass in many places. Residents were losing ducks and poultry. The report continues : "These animals are so daring as to approach some of the public houses by open day and kill ducks or whatever they meet." About the same time the *Gazette* reported that native dogs were causing much damage on the North Shore.

* * * * *

Tea is frequently in the news to-day, and references to it occur in the press and in other records ever since the colony of New South Wales was founded. Attempts have been made to cultivate it in Australia, without success. Its price has undergone considerable variation. David Collins records that in 1792 tea cost from 16/- to £1/13/- per pound.

The settlers at the Field of Mars complained to Hunter in March, 1798, that tea which cost from 5/- to 10/- per pound wholesale was retailed at from 15/- to 20/- per pound, and at that period could not be purchased for less than 40/- per pound.

In a letter from Sydney dated September 5, 1798, it was complained that "tea had eagerly been bought at four guineas a pound."

An attempt was made to grow tea in the Botanic Gardens, Sydney, in 1823, and the *Sydney Gazette* of May 5 said :—

"We are informed by Mr. Fraser that the tea-plant has now been growing in the Botanic Gardens for three years; he has not the least doubt, could we only procure some two or three of the Chinese, that the plant might be cultivated with some success, in the course of time, as in China. Pray will this plant grow in Tasmania, the far famed land of milk and honey ?"

The *Sydney Gazette* of October 17, 1825, reported that tea was being sold at £4 to £5 per chest. "This time last year," the paper continued, "tea was selling at £15 per chest."

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Commonwealth Old-Age and Invalid Pensions Schemes.

By T. H. KEWLEY, M.A.

(*Read, in abbreviated form, before the Society,
July 29, 1952.*)

I.—INTRODUCTION.¹

The phrase, "Departmental sources," several times used in the footnotes, refers to information obtained from official files and other documents to which the author was kindly granted access by the Director-General of Social Services, Mr F. H. Rowe, C.B.E. The author would like to express his thanks to Mr Rowe for this courtesy, and also to Mr R. H. Fyfe, Assistant Director-General of Social Services, for the help he has given in the preparation of this paper.

In allocating to the Federal authority power to legislate for invalid and old-age pensions, the Australian Federal Constitution differed from the Constitutions of the United States, Switzerland and Canada, where power to provide all benefits of this kind remained with the regional (or State) authorities. The proposal that the Federal authority be allocated this power was made by Mr J. H. Howe, of South Australia, at the Australasian Federal Convention of 1897-98. In debating this proposal, no member of the Convention questioned the desirability, or the practicability, of granting pensions to the aged and infirm. In fact, those who argued against it were at great pains to display their complete sympathy with the principle of old-age pensions. What they doubted was the wisdom of granting this power to the Federal authority rather than leaving it with the States.

Howe's motion was at first rejected by the Convention. Some members who voted against it soon realized, however,

¹ The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes :
C'wealth Deb. : Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates.
C'wealth P.P. : Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers.

that its adoption would have greatly added to the chances of the Constitution, as drafted by the Convention, being accepted by the public. Howe was accordingly invited to re-submit his motion. When he did so it was carried by twenty-six votes to four. The Constitution thus granted to the Commonwealth Parliament power to legislate for invalid and old-age pensions, making it a concurrent power which could be exercised by the States until such time as it was acted upon by the Commonwealth.^{1a}

From the time of the establishment of the Commonwealth in January, 1901, old-age pensions found a prominent place in the election platforms of all political parties. That there was a long delay before the Commonwealth Parliament enacted legislation upon this subject was not because of any reluctance on the part of its members. The delay was due rather to financial limitations placed upon it by both the Constitution and political considerations.²

The Bill dealing with old-age pensions was introduced on June 2, 1908. The following day it passed through the remaining stages in the House of Representatives, and the next day through all stages in the Senate.³ The rapidity with which the Bill became law was by no means due merely to the good feelings that members of both Houses had long entertained toward old-age pensions. Rather, the parliamentary session was shortly to come to an end, and the Government desired that before this happened legislation for old-age pensions should be enacted, even though the scheme was not to come into force for more than a year.

When the Commonwealth old-age pensions scheme came into force on July 1, 1909, it superseded the similar schemes that were previously operating in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland. Legislation for a

^{1a} See T. H. Kewley, "The Power of the Commonwealth Parliament over Invalid and Old-Age Pensions," in *Public Administration* (Sydney), Vol. VI. (1947), No. 6, pp. 290-91, for a fuller account of the Convention debates.

² For a discussion of these financial limitations, and also of the varied suggestions that were made for overcoming them, see *Ibid.*, pp. 292-96.

³ Almost immediately afterwards a further *Act* was passed authorizing the appropriation from consolidated revenue of the sum of £750,000 to be paid into an Invalid and Old-Age Pensions Trust Account.

Commonwealth-wide invalid pensions scheme was enacted at the same time as legislation for old-age pensions. When the Commonwealth invalid pensions scheme came into force on December 5, 1910, it superseded the invalid pensions scheme that had been operating in New South Wales (the only State to enact legislation upon this subject) since January 1, 1908.

In what follows, an account is first given of the original old-age and invalid pensions schemes and of the changes that were made in them prior to 1912, the end of the first era in the development of the social services in Australia.⁴ Then follows a discussion of the changes that were made during the years 1912 to 1939. A concluding section indicates the main developments that have taken place in these schemes since 1939.

II.—THE OLD-AGE PENSION SCHEME.

THE LEGISLATION OF 1908.

The Commonwealth old-age pensions scheme was said to be based upon the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Old-Age Pensions of 1905-06. It did not, however, incorporate the Commission's recommendations that near relations be compelled to contribute to the support of applicants for pensions, or that a pensioner's property at his death should vest in the Crown, which was to have first claim upon it to the extent of the total amount paid in pension. One reason for not adopting these recommendations would be that the Government was aware of the considerable hostility on the part of many people to the similar provisions in the Victorian old-age pensions legislation. Moreover, the Government was aware of the objections earlier raised in New South Wales against the proposal to include like provisions in the old-age pensions legislation of that State.

In its general character, the Commonwealth old-age pensions scheme followed that of New South Wales.⁵ It

⁴ For an account of the three eras in the development of social services in Australia, see T. H. Kewley, "The Social Services," in G. W. Paton (ed.), *The Commonwealth of Australia : The Development of its Laws and Constitution* (London, 1952), pp. 316-19.

⁵ A detailed account of the New South Wales old-age pensions scheme is to be found in T. H. Kewley, "Social Services in Australia (1900-10)," in Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. XXXIII. (1947), Part IV., pp. 214 ff.

differed from the New South Wales scheme, however, in a number of details. The Commonwealth legislation (*Act No. 17 of 1908*) provided for the payment of a pension at the maximum rate of £26 a year to both men and women at the age of 65 years. At a time to be proclaimed (which would be when finances permitted) women were to be granted pensions at the age of 60 years.⁶ Old-age pensions were also to be granted to persons between the ages of 60 and 65 years who were permanently incapacitated for work.

No pension was to be granted to an applicant whose income exceeded £52 a year, or whose accumulated property amounted in value to more than £310. The annual rate of pension was to be reduced by the amount of any other income above £26 a year, and also by £1 for every £10 of property above £50 in value. Where the property included a home in which the pensioner permanently resided, and which brought in no income, the deduction on account of property was to commence at £100 instead of £50.

In allowing a higher exemption where the property included a home, the Commonwealth *Act* followed the New Zealand *Old-Age Pensions Act*, and not the New South Wales.⁷ It also differed from the latter in that it did not distinguish between the rates of pension granted to single persons and married couples, but allowed them the same amounts. The property provisions did, however, place married couples at some disadvantage as compared with single persons. Except where they were living apart, married couples, both of whom were pensioners, were each allowed a property exemption of only half the amount allowed single persons.

An applicant for a pension was required to have resided continuously in Australia for a period of at least 25 years. Continuous residence was not deemed to have been interrupted by occasional absences not exceeding in the aggregate one-tenth of the total period of residence. An applicant was also required to be of good character. Some demand was made during the debates on the Bill for a definition of the term "good character." No such definition was attempted, but the Government did agree

⁶ This provision was later proclaimed to operate as from December, 1910.

⁷ See Royal Commission on Old-Age Pensions *Report*, p. xiii. : *C'wealth P.P.* (1906).

to delete a clause, similar to one in the New South Wales *Act*, which required the applicant to have led a temperate and reputable life during the five years immediately preceding the date of his application.⁸ Another provision excluded from the grant of a pension a husband or wife who had deserted his or her spouse, or their children. In New South Wales an applicant was excluded on the ground of such desertion at any time, but the Commonwealth *Act* had regard only to the five years immediately preceding the date on which application was made for a pension.

The provisions requiring applicants to satisfy certain conditions regarding their character, means, and period of residence were the main features of the *Act*. It also contained a number of miscellaneous provisions, amongst which only the following need be noticed. Aliens, Asiatics (except those born in Australia), and certain groups of aboriginal natives were ineligible for a pension; so also were persons who directly or indirectly deprived themselves of property with the object of obtaining a pension. Neither was a pension to be granted to an inmate of a benevolent asylum or charitable institution, except where the applicant had been sent there on the recommendation of a magistrate on the ground that he was unfit to be entrusted with a pension. The magistrate, before recommending that a pension be granted, had to be satisfied that the applicant was "deserving of a pension." Furthermore, a pensioner convicted of drunkenness or of any offence punishable by imprisonment for one month or more might be required to forfeit his pension for a time. His pension was to be cancelled should he be convicted twice in twelve months of any offence punishable by imprisonment for not less than one month, or of an offence punishable by imprisonment for at least twelve months.

The general administration of the *Act* was entrusted to a Commissioner of Pensions.⁹ He was to be assisted in each State by a Deputy Commissioner, who had responsibility for determining claims and issuing pensions certificates. The States were to be subdivided into

⁸ *C'wealth Deb.*, XLVI., June 3, 1908, pp. 11975-76.

⁹ The Treasury became responsible for the administration of the *Act*, the Secretary and Accountant in the Treasury being appointed Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner respectively. *Ibid* 1, July 20, 1909, p. 1333.

districts, and a Registrar of Pensions appointed for each district. The Registrar was to receive, examine, and report upon claims for pensions. These were then to be submitted to a magistrate, before whom the applicant might be required to appear to support his claim at greater length. The hearing was to be held in private, unless for some reason the magistrate deemed it advisable to hold it in open court.¹⁰ A system of District Boards, such as in New South Wales, was rejected on the ground of its cost, and the magistrate was required to hear claims alone, and not with the assistance of two laymen.¹¹ Neither was he the determining authority, as were the District Boards in New South Wales. Having heard the claim, he was required to make his recommendation to the Deputy Commissioner, who would determine whether or not the claim was to be granted, and also the amount of the pension. Pensions were to be paid fortnightly, rather than monthly as in New South Wales. Payments were made through the post offices, although the *Act* did not so specify.¹²

AMENDING LEGISLATION UP TO 1912.

The old-age pension scheme had been in force little more than two weeks when amending legislation was introduced. Most of the proposed amendments were of a machinery nature, and resulted from the haste with which the original measure was enacted. They would have been made earlier but for the disturbed political situation.

Most of the ground common to the Labour and Protectionist parties had been covered by 1908, and the Labour Party was becoming increasingly irritable at maintaining in office a party which actually formed only a minority of the House. The situation came to a head during November of that year, when a direct challenge was issued to the Government, and a new Labour administration took office under the leadership of Mr Andrew Fisher. During the following month Parliament went into recess, and whilst in recess negotiations took place which led to a fusion of

¹⁰ The Bill, following the recommendations of the Royal Commission, at first envisaged the hearing in open court, but, when introducing the Bill, L. E. (later Sir Littleton) Groom said that he would move for the deletion of this clause at the Committee stage. See *Ibid*, XLVI, June 3, 1908, pp. 11963, 11980.

¹¹ *Ibid*, June 3, 1908, p. 11924.

¹² *Ibid*, June 4, 1908, pp. 11997-98.

the non-Labour parties. The consequence was that Mr Alfred Deakin, as their leader, again assumed office on June 2, 1909.¹³

The most important feature of the amending *Act* (No. 3 of 1909), introduced soon after the Deakin Government came into office, was the provision for a reduction of the residential period from 25 to 20 years. The amendment was needed to bring the Commonwealth scheme into harmony with those of Victoria and Queensland, which, unlike the New South Wales scheme, had prescribed a residential period of only 20 years. Without it, effect could not be given to the provision (Section 35) that pensioners under the State schemes should be transferred to the Commonwealth scheme almost automatically. No one was to suffer through the delay in making this amendment. An applicant who had resided in Australia for 20 years on July 1, 1909, was to be entitled to a pension from that date if his claim were made within 60 days of the passing of the amending *Act*.¹⁴

Before the end of 1909 another amendment was made. The original *Act* provided that, in determining the amount of an applicant's income, no account was to be taken of moneys received by way of benefit from a friendly society, or during illness, infirmity, or old age, from any trade union, provident society, or other society or association. After the scheme came into force a ruling had been given that, as the New South Wales Miners' Accident Relief Fund was subsidized by the New South Wales Government, benefits received from it should be counted as income for the purposes of the *Act*.¹⁵ The sole aim of the second amending *Act* (No. 21 of 1909) was to provide that such allowances should not be so counted.

During September, 1909, an attempt was made by J. C. Neild, who introduced a private member's bill, to have certain of the property provisions of the *Act* brought into harmony with those of the *New South Wales Old-Age Pensions Act*.¹⁶ This attempt was unsuccessful, however,

¹³ See L. F. Fitzhardinge, in *National Building in Australia : The Life and Work of Sir Littleton Ernest Groom* (Sydney, 1941), pp. 78-84.

¹⁴ *C'wealth Deb.*, 1, August 4, 1909, p. 1955.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, LIV., November 25, 1909, p. 6373.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, LII., September 30, 1909, pp. 3940-43.

and no further amendment of the *Act* was made until 1912. In the meantime a change of Government had taken place. The manoeuvrings that had preceded the formation of the fusion Government in 1909 had failed to inspire confidence in the electors, who, at a general election held the following year, had returned the Labour Party with a clear majority in both Houses.¹⁷ The amending Bill was introduced on December 11, 1912, by Fisher, who was both Prime Minister and Treasurer. Its main provisions were those which dealt with income, naturalized subjects, and a pensioner's home.

The practice of treating as income gifts or allowances received from children, or grand-children, and on this account reducing the amount of pension, or even refusing to grant one, came to be regarded as out of harmony with the general attitude to pensioners. Moreover, it was said to discourage the giving of expression to desirable emotions, and also to offer a strong inducement to deception. The amending *Act* (No. 27 of 1912) stipulated that such gifts or allowances were to be disregarded in determining the amount of pension to which an applicant was entitled. It also provided that aliens who became naturalized, and who were otherwise qualified, should be granted a pension from the date of their naturalization. The original *Act* had required a naturalized subject to wait three years after his naturalization before being eligible for a pension.¹⁸

The most important provision of the amending *Act* allowed a pensioner's home to be disregarded in determining the amount of his pension. It was noticed earlier that the original *Act* allowed a higher exemption for a pensioner's home than for any other form of property. Nevertheless, there was dissatisfaction with this provision, some being opposed to the whole notion of making a deduction on account of a home. During the debates on the original Bill of 1908, it was asserted that such a provision was a severe penalty on thrift, and would discourage home ownership. It was also argued that it would create anomalies, in that cottages of equal quality differed in value as between the States. But, although these members did not agree with Groom, who had said that it was only

¹⁷ See Fitzhardinge, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁸ *C'wealth Deb.*, LXIX., December 12, 1912, pp. 6968, 6972.

fair that a pensioner should be forced to use his property for his own support rather than leave it to his descendants, they felt that, until the financial condition of the Commonwealth changed, this provision would have to remain.¹⁹ In the years that immediately followed, members of all parties at times expressed strong objection to its continuance. So also did delegates to the Fifth Commonwealth Labour Conference, held in January, 1912. This Conference resolved that a home to the value of £400 should be disregarded in calculating the amount of pension.²⁰

The amending Bill exempted a home, no matter what its value. This proposal was well received, the view being expressed that it would remove a disability which was felt most strongly by the worthiest and the most thrifty in the community.²¹ Some argued that, in order to be consistent, the *Act* should also exempt a specified amount of money held in a savings bank. Others contended that pensioners who paid rent were placed at a considerable disadvantage as compared with those who owned their own homes. But those who so argued were not unsympathetic to the proposed amendment. They intended, rather, to suggest that there were anomalies in the *Act* which could be removed only by the adoption of a scheme under which old-age pensions were granted without a means test.²²

NUMBERS OF PENSIONERS AND EXPENDITURE.

Amendments to the Commonwealth *Act* had proved easier to make than had been the case in New South Wales. When that scheme had been introduced there was a peculiar sensitiveness for political and public reaction to costs and consequences. By the time the Commonwealth scheme had come into operation, the use of public funds for granting pensions was no longer a novelty. It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the amendments of the Commonwealth *Act* aimed at liberalizing its provisions, nor that this liberalization should coincide with the development of new attitudes to public finance.

¹⁹ See *Ibid.*, XLVI., June 3, 1908, pp. 11923, 11976, 12033.

²⁰ The view was there expressed that the old-age pension had become a "landlord's pension," in that elderly couples were being forced to sell their homes, and to pay rent, in order to qualify for a pension. *Official Report*, pp. 32, 50.

²¹ *C'wealth Deb.*, LXIX., December 12, 1912, p. 6979.

²² *Ibid.*, December 18, 1912, p. 7315.

Whereas the expenditure on old-age pensions in New South Wales decreased for a time, after the initial increase during the second year in which that scheme was in force, Commonwealth expenditure on old-age pensions increased each year from the outset. It had been estimated that the Commonwealth old-age pensions scheme would cost about £1,500,000 annually. But, at June 30, 1910, the end of the first year in which the scheme was in force, the estimated annual liability was £1,624,454, and at June 30, 1913, £2,098,798.²³ During that period the number of old-age pensioners increased from 65,492 to 82,943, or by 26½ per cent., whilst the population increased by less than 10 per cent. It was estimated that at June 30, 1913, old-age pensioners represented 1¼ per cent. of the total population, and 33 per cent. of the population having the requisite age qualification (women at 60 and men at 65).²⁴

This latter percentage is slightly in excess of the truth, as the comparison was made with males 65 years of age and upwards, whereas some pensions were granted to persons between the ages of 60 and 65 years.

The increases in numbers and expenditure led the Cook Government, which succeeded the Fisher Government in June, 1913, to request the Commonwealth Statistician, G. H. (later Sir George) Knibbs, to make an inquiry into the reasons for such increases. He found that the principal reasons were the growing knowledge of the benefits of the scheme, the diminution of the feeling that the grant of an old-age pension involved pauperization, the increasing proportion of aged persons in the population, and the liberalization of the qualifications for benefit.²⁵

²³ See Commissioner of Pensions *Annual Statement*, 1910, p. 7; and *idem*, 1913, p. 8.

The actual *expenditures* upon invalids, and old-age pensions are not given separately, but, in his *Annual Statements* for the years 1910 to 1939 inclusive, the Commissioner gives separately the estimated *liability* of each of these benefits.

²⁴ G. H. Knibbs, *Report on Old-Age and Invalid Pensions*, pp. 3-5 : *C'wealth P.P.* (1913).

²⁵ *Ibid.* A liberalization of special importance was the reduction of the qualifying age of women from 65 to 60 as from December 15, 1910. This accounted largely for the fact that, between June 30, 1910, and June 30, 1913, whilst the number of male pensioners increased by about 13 per cent. the number of female pensioners increased by about 39 per cent., and at that latter date represented 32½ per cent. of females aged 60 and upwards.

The accompanying table²⁶ shows the number of old-age pensioners for the years 1910 to 1913 inclusive, and the estimated annual liability for old-age pensions at June 30 of each of those years. It also shows the numbers during that period in each of the three States in which old-age pensions schemes were in force prior to the establishment of the Commonwealth scheme. The first line of the table shows the numbers of old-age pensioners taken over by the Commonwealth from those States. The increase of pensioners in those States during the first year in which the Commonwealth scheme was in force is partly due to the fact that many persons who had long resided in Australia had not resided *continuously* in one or other of those States for the prescribed period.²⁷ The increase in New South Wales is also partly accounted for by the requirement in the Commonwealth *Act* of a residential period of 20 years, as against 25 years in the New South Wales *Act*. In Victoria, the large increase can be attributed to the fact that most of the provisions of the Commonwealth *Act* were more liberal than those which had previously obtained in that State.

Year ended June 30	Number of Old-Age Pensioners				Estimated Annual Liability*
	N.S.W.	Victoria	Queensland	Total Commonwealth	
1909	21,292	11,945	6,638	—	—
1910	25,215	20,218	8,561	65,492	£1,624,454
1911	28,160	23,722	9,894	75,502	1,865,448
1912	29,668	24,449	10,436	79,071	1,945,528
1913	30,869	25,434	11,221	82,943	2,098,798

* This amount does not include the payments for maintenance made on behalf of inmates of benevolent asylums, which, during the year ended June, 1913, amounted to £13,287, or about twice that of the previous year. See Director-General of Social Services, *Fourth Report*, p. 6; (No. 66 of 1945-46).

III.—THE INVALID PENSIONS SCHEME. THE LEGISLATION OF 1908.

It was natural that, when drafting the Commonwealth Constitution in the years 1897-98, the Australian Federal Convention should associate with the power to legislate for old-age pensions the power also to legislate for invalid pensions. The widespread demand at that time for old-

²⁶ See *Ibid*, also the *Annual Statements* of the Commissioner of Pensions for the years 1910 to 1913 inclusive.

²⁷ See Royal Commission on Old-Age Pensions *Report*, p. ix.

age pensions represented a reaction against the institutional, or asylum, system of caring for the aged. And asylums were places of refuge for invalids as well as for the aged. Moreover, J. H. Howe, whom it was noticed earlier proposed the motion that the Commonwealth be granted this power, envisaged a contributory scheme, and would have had in mind that in Germany insurance against invalidity and old-age was combined in a single scheme.²⁸

Unlike old-age pensions, which were often discussed, invalid pensions were scarcely even referred to in the Commonwealth Parliament prior to June, 1908, when, as noticed earlier, legislation for invalid pensions was enacted at the same time as legislation for old-age pensions. Moreover, during the debates on the Bill attention was concentrated upon the proposed old-age pensions scheme : the provisions for invalid pensions were passed over almost without notice. Once the legislation was enacted, however, more interest was shown in it, the Government several times being requested to proclaim the date of its commencement.²⁹

The Commonwealth invalid and old-age pensions schemes, as well as being combined in a single *Act*, were closely interwoven. They were conjointly administered, and both were financed from general revenue. The rate for invalid pensions was the same as that for old-age pensions, and most of the provisions of the *Act* applied to both schemes. There were, of course, some provisions which defined the special character of the invalid pensions scheme. These were mostly copied from the New South Wales *Invalidity and Accident Pensions Act, 1907*.³⁰

²⁸ For a discussion of the reasons why no serious attention was given to the contributory principle prior to 1908, and of the later, and unsuccessful, attempts that were made to adopt that principle, see T. H. Kewley, "A General Survey of Social Services in Australia," in *Economic Papers No. 7* (N.S.W. Branch of the Economics Society, Sydney, 1947), pp. 10-12, 23-27.

²⁹ See e.g. *C'wealth Deb.*, LVI., December 6, 1909, p. 7087. The *Act* did not specify the date by which the invalid pensions scheme was to come into force, as it did for the old-age pensions scheme. Instead, the commencement date was to be proclaimed when finances permitted. *Ibid.*, XLVI., June 3, 1908, p. 11923.

³⁰ For an account of the New South Wales invalid pensions scheme, see T. H. Kewley, "Social Services in Australia (1900-10)," in Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. XXXIII. (1947), Part IV., pp. 340-48.

The Commonwealth *Invalid and Old-Age Pensions Act, 1908*, provided for the granting of an invalid pension to an applicant above the age of 16 years who, because of an accident, or from natural causes, was "permanently incapacitated for work," and who had become so whilst in Australia. A pension was not to be granted where the incapacity was self-inflicted, or in any way brought about with the purpose of obtaining a pension. Furthermore, a pension was not to be granted where the applicant was legally entitled, because of his accident or invalidism, to obtain compensation adequate for his maintenance.

An applicant was required to have resided continuously in Australia for a period of at least five years. He was not required to satisfy a character test, as were applicants for old-age pensions. It was apparently assumed, as in New South Wales, that a person permanently incapacitated for work would have little opportunity of misbehaving himself.³¹ An applicant was required to satisfy certain conditions regarding his means. These were the same as those applicable to old-age pensions, with an important addition. An invalid pension was not to be granted if the applicant's near relatives (namely, father, mother, husband, wife or children), either severally or collectively, adequately maintained him.³² This provision was almost identical with the one in the New South Wales *Invalidity and Accident Pensions Act, 1907*. It did not compel relatives to contribute, but, where they did so, the amount contributed was taken into account in determining whether or not a pension should be granted.

³¹ See *N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates*, XXVIII., December 11, 1907, p. 1859.

³² The standard of adequate maintenance was not specified in the *Act*. Neither was it specified in the *N.S.W. Invalidity and Accident Pensions Act, 1907*. It is not clear what standard was adopted in New South Wales. In the Commonwealth the determination of the standard was at first left to the discretion of the Commissioner of Pensions. From 1921 onwards Cabinet from time to time gave a direction about the standard to be observed. In December, 1940, it directed that "adequate maintenance" be regarded as "a family income sufficient to provide £2/10/- per week for each adult dependent member of the family, and half that amount for each child under sixteen years of age." See *C'wealth Deb.*, October 29, 1941, p. 60.

It is of interest to notice here that the Commonwealth old-age pensions scheme, like the similar one in New South Wales, made special provision for persons between the ages of 60 and 65 years. Such applicants who were otherwise eligible might be granted an old-age pension if they were permanently incapacitated for work. This provision came into force with the remainder of the old-age pensions scheme on July 1, 1909. The reason for including it in the *Act* was that the commencement date of the invalid pensions scheme was undefined. The Government, influenced by the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Old-Age Pensions of 1905-06,³³ was sympathetically disposed toward this group, and did not wish it to be penalised because of delay in bringing the invalid pensions scheme into force. Moreover, it felt obliged to make immediate provision for those in this group who were already receiving pensions under the New South Wales old-age pensions scheme. Although the invalid pensions scheme commenced on December 15, 1910, this provision remained in force. The reason for its indefinite continuance may have been that it was not thought worth while to have it deleted from the *Act*. Or again, it might have been that it did enable an applicant who had long resided in Australia, but who was ineligible for an invalid pension, having not become incapacitated in Australia, to receive an old-age pension five years earlier than he would otherwise have been entitled to do. The provision remained in force until 1943, when those benefiting under it were transferred to the invalid pensions scheme.³⁴ Its origin had then been forgotten, save perhaps by a few officials.³⁵

AMENDING LEGISLATION, AND EXPENDITURE, UP TO 1912.

Before the invalid pensions scheme came into force the *Act* was twice amended. Most of the amending provisions were of a machinery nature, and need not be further noticed. They applied equally to the old-age pensions

³³ *Report*, p. xii.

³⁴ *C'wealth Deb.*, 174, March 10, 1943, p. 1474.

³⁵ The Minister for Social Services, E. J. Holloway, could suggest no other reason for this provision being in the *Act* than that the Statistician did not wish to have too many people catalogued as invalids. Sir Frederick Stewart, a former Minister for Social Services, admitted that he was unaware of its existence. *Ibid.*

scheme. An amendment of the provisions singular to the granting of invalid pensions was made in December, 1912, when the second Fisher Government was in office. It extended the scheme to cover persons who were blind. During the debates on the original Bill in 1908, Groom had said that the proposed scheme was intended to include the blind, other than those who were capable of maintaining themselves.³⁶ In practice, however, it was found that medical practitioners were often reluctant to certify that persons who were blind were permanently incapacitated for work. This led the Government to disregard the law, and to grant pensions in such cases from the Treasurer's Advance Account. The amending *Act* of 1912, therefore, merely legalized a practice that had been indulged in, with the knowledge of Parliament, from the commencement of the scheme.³⁷

The amending *Act*, nevertheless, placed the blind in a different category from other recipients of invalid pensions. Ordinarily, where an applicant was capable of earning an income, he was ineligible for a pension on the ground that he was not permanently incapacitated for work. Blind persons, on the other hand, were to be given every inducement to earn something toward their support. The *Act* provided that an applicant who was blind "shall be deemed to be earning wages equal to the amount which he or she could earn by reasonable effort." The dual purpose of this provision was to discourage those already at work from leaving it with a view to obtaining a pension, and to encourage others to undertake training for some occupation.³⁸

The Commonwealth invalid pensions scheme turned out to cost rather more than had been expected. Groom had estimated its cost at about £200,000 per annum. At June 30, 1912, the first full year in which the scheme was in force, its annual liability was estimated at £271,206. The following table shows the estimated annual liability

³⁶ *C'wealth Deb.*, XLVI., June 3, 1908, p. 11978.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, LXIX., December 12, 1912, p. 6968.

³⁸ See *ibid.*, LXIX., December 12, 1912, pp. 6969-70; also *ibid.*, I., December 19, 1909, p. 7524.

as at June 30 for the years 1911 to 1913 inclusive, and also the number of pensioners during each of those years.³⁹

The Cook Government, which succeeded the Fisher Government in June, 1913, was disturbed at the increase in the number of invalid pensioners. It consequently requested the Commonwealth Statistician to inquire into the reasons for such an increase at the same time as he was seeking an explanation of the growing number of old-age pensioners. He found that the principal reasons were the growing knowledge of the benefits of the scheme, and a diminution of the feeling that the grant of an invalid pension involved pauperization.⁴⁰

IV.—CHANGES IN THE INVALID AND OLD-AGE PENSIONS SCHEMES : 1912 TO 1939.

Between the years 1912 and 1939 the Commonwealth invalid and old-age pensions legislation was amended on seventeen occasions. Save in few instances, the amendments affected provisions common to both invalid and old-age pensions. Those made prior to the economic depression of the 'thirties were of a liberalizing nature; those made during the depression inevitably reflected the general policy to reduce public expenditure. Of the latter amendments, the two most significant were those which required relatives to contribute to the maintenance of pensioners, and those which provided that the amount of pension granted should be a charge upon the pensioner's estate at his death. These, and most other economy measures were, however, repealed before 1937, in which year the pension was also restored to its pre-depression rate.

In what follows, an account is given in chronological order of the amendments that were made prior to and during the depression. An account is also given of the provision made for invalid and old-age pensioners in institutions—a State field which the Commonwealth, con-

³⁹ See the *Annual Statements* of the Commissioner of Pensions for the year 1910 to 1913 inclusive.

Year ended on June 30	Number of Pensioners	Annual Liability
1911	7,451	£188,916
1912	10,763	271,206
1913	13,739	350,636

⁴⁰ *Report on Old-Age and Invalid Pensions*, p. 5.

trary to its general administrative policy, was reluctant to enter.

AMENDING LEGISLATION PRIOR TO 1930.

The chief characteristic of the amendments made prior to the 'thirties was to increase the rate of pension. In the earlier years of World War I there were vigorous demands that the rate of pension should be increased to bring it more into line with increases in the cost of living resulting from the then abnormal conditions. It was not until September, 1916, however, that a Labour Government, under the leadership of Mr W. M. Hughes, introduced legislation for this purpose. That legislation increased the annual rate of pension from the original amount of 10/- to 12/6 per week.⁴¹

Rising prices were also a feature of the years immediately following upon the war, and three further increases to offset the cost of living were made in the rate of pension. The first was made in 1919 under the Nationalist Government led by Hughes, who had earlier been expelled from the Labour Party over the conscription issue, and the remaining two in 1923 and 1925 under the Bruce–Page Government. On each occasion the increase was of an amount of 2/6 per week, so that in October, 1925, the weekly rate of pension became £1, or twice the original rate.⁴² When introducing the amending Bill of 1925, the Treasurer, Dr E. C. G. (later Sir Earle) Page, said that one of the reasons for increasing the pension to £1 per week was to make its rate the same as the rate for superannuation and invalidity benefits recommended by the Royal Commission on National Insurance in its *First Progress Report*, presented earlier that year. He added that he expected soon to introduce legislation on national insurance.⁴³ That legislation was not introduced, however, until 1928. Moreover, the Government did not proceed with it.

Although the annual rate of pension was increased on four occasions, the 1923 amendment was the only case in which an alteration was made in the conditions of enjoy-

⁴¹ See *Act No. 32 of 1916*; also *C'wealth Deb.*, LXXX., September 29, 1916, p. 9138.

⁴² See *Act No. 22 of 1919*; *Act No. 15 of 1923*; and *Act No. 27 of 1925*.

⁴³ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 111, September 1925, p. 2351.

ment. That amendment increased the amount of permissible income from £26 to £32/10/- a year, and of permissible property (apart from the home in which the pensioner resided) from £310 to £400.⁴⁴ These amounts remained unchanged until 1946.

Amending legislation in 1926 extended the scope of the invalid and old-age pensions schemes to cover Indians born in British India. The original *Act* had excluded Asiatics, except where they were born in Australia. As a result of discussions at the Imperial War Conferences of 1917 and 1918, the Commonwealth Government undertook to amend the *Act* so that pensions might be granted to Indians who were otherwise eligible for them. It was not until 1926, however, that the Government belatedly gave effect to this undertaking. Meanwhile Indians had been admitted to the franchise.⁴⁵

The above amendments applied both to invalid and old-age pensions. Two other alterations made prior to the 'thirties affected provisions of the *Act* singular to the granting of invalid pensions. The first dealt with blind pensioners, and the second with the prescribed period of residence.

It was noticed earlier that an amending *Act* of 1912 had placed blind pensioners in a different category from other invalid pensioners in that they were encouraged to earn something toward their support. With a view to enabling a blind pensioner to marry, and to rear a family, amending legislation was enacted in 1920 which allowed him to earn an amount which, together with his pension, would give him an income of £221 a year, or such other amount as was declared to be the basic wage for the part of the Commonwealth in which he resided.⁴⁶

The original *Act* had required an applicant for an invalid pension to have resided in Australia for a continuous period of five years, and to have become

⁴⁴ See *ibid.*, 105, August 24, 1923, pp. 3558-59; also *Act No. 15 of 1923*.

⁴⁵ See *Act No. 44 of 1926*; also *C'wealth Deb.*, 114, August 5, 1926, p. 4956.

⁴⁶ See *C'wealth Deb.*, XCIV., November 22, 1920, p. 6773; *so Act No. 53 of 1920*.

permanently incapacitated or blind whilst in Australia. Where the applicant was afflicted with a congenital defect, he was regarded as having become incapacitated or blind in Australia if brought there before attaining the age of three years. In practice, these provisions excluded a number of invalids who had resided in Australia for a long time, but who had not arrived there before attaining the age of three years. This situation led to an amendment being made in 1923 which allowed a pension to be granted to an applicant afflicted with a congenital defect, where he was otherwise eligible and had resided in Australia for a period of twenty years.⁴⁷

PENSIONERS IN INSTITUTIONS.

The treatment of invalid and old-age pensioners in institutions affords an interesting study in the evolution of ideas with regard to the maintenance of pensioners in institutions and the allotment of pensions to them. The original *Act* excluded from the grant of a pension an inmate of a benevolent asylum, no matter whether it was conducted by a voluntary charitable organization or a State Government. Where a pensioner was admitted to a benevolent asylum upon the recommendation of a magistrate, a payment was made to the asylum by the Commonwealth toward the cost of his maintenance. The *Act* made no provision for this payment, which was made as of grace following upon representations by State Governments and voluntary charitable organizations. In the early stages the amount paid differed as between the States, but later a uniform rate (at first 7/6 per week) was adopted.⁴⁸

In 1916, some seven years after the *Act* had come into force, amending legislation was introduced which provided for the payment of a small pension to those inmates of benevolent asylums whose admittance the Commonwealth had arranged. This institutional pension of 2/- per week was intended as pocket money with which the pensioner might buy tobacco and provide other such comforts for himself. It represented the difference between the maximum weekly rate of pension and the sum of 10/6 per

⁴⁷ See *Act No. 27 of 1912; Act No. 15 of 1923*; also *C'wealth Deb.*, 105, August 24, 1923, pp. 3562, 3598.

⁴⁸ See *ibid.*, 119, September 15, 1928, pp. 6392, 6446.

week then being paid to the asylum for the pensioner's maintenance.⁴⁹

At first the Commonwealth declined to grant a similar pension to inmates other than those whose admittance to the asylum it had arranged. It took the view that persons already in benevolent asylums were the responsibility of the States. This discrimination between inmates inevitably generated irritation, which produced discontent among them, and added to the difficulty of managing the asylums. Moreover, it came to be regarded as absurd. An inmate who was not eligible for the institutional pension had merely to leave the asylum for a short period and, if otherwise eligible, could be granted an ordinary pension. Upon his return to the asylum he was thereby entitled to receive an institutional pension. The *Act* was accordingly amended in September, 1923, to provide for the granting of an institutional pension to all inmates of benevolent asylums who were otherwise qualified for invalid or old-age pensions. The Commonwealth would not agree, however, to make a payment to benevolent asylums toward the maintenance of inmates other than those whose admittance it arranged. It persistently contended that the maintenance of such inmates was the financial responsibility of the States.⁵⁰ Not until 1943 did it undertake to make a payment towards the maintenance of all inmates who were otherwise eligible for a pension. In the meantime most, if not all, of those who were inmates of asylums at the time the Commonwealth invalid and old-age pensions schemes came into force were dead.⁵¹

The pension to inmates of institutions was increased by 1/- a week in 1923, and by a like amount again in 1925,

⁴⁹ See *ibid.*, LXXX., September 29, 1916, p. 9140; also *Act No. 32 of 1916*. During the year ended June, 1917, institutional pensions were granted to 1,965 inmates of benevolent asylums.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, u. 9141; *ibid.*, August 24, 1923, pp. 3561, 3591; *ibid.*, 119, September 15, 1928, pp. 6392, 6446; also Departmental sources.

⁵¹ The discussion of this question, and especially the later discussions, suggest that there was some confusion as to whether the original understanding was that the States should be responsible only for those who were already inmates of asylums when the Commonwealth legislation came into force, or whether they should also be responsible for those who became inmates after that date and who later became eligible for a pension in all respects, save that they were inmates of asylums.

but the sum paid to the institution toward the pensioner's maintenance remained unaltered until 1928. In October of that year, following upon protracted representations by the State Premiers, the Commonwealth agreed to increase the payment for maintenance from 10/6, at which sum it had been fixed in 1916, to 14/6 per week. At the same time the *Act* was amended to increase the maximum rate of institutional pension to 5/6 per week. This meant that, where a pensioner was entitled to the maximum rate of pension (£1 per week) prior to becoming an inmate of a benevolent asylum, the full amount of pension was to be paid for and on his behalf, and the Commonwealth relinquished its policy of trying to save a few shillings weekly on such cases.⁵²

The position of a pensioner who became an inmate of a benevolent asylum differed from that of a pensioner who became an inmate of a hospital, or of an asylum for the insane. The original *Act* provided that where a pensioner entered a hospital, or an asylum for the insane, his pension was to be suspended, and no further payment made until he was discharged. Upon discharge, he was to be paid up to four weeks' pension for the period during which he was an inmate. When, in 1916, the *Act* was amended to allow the payment of an institutional pension to specified inmates of benevolent asylums, the Government resisted attempts to have a similar pension granted to pensioners who became inmates of hospitals or asylums for the insane. Neither would it agree to make a contribution toward the cost of maintaining pensioners in these institutions. It was consistent in adhering to its view that the care of inmates of these institutions was the responsibility of the States.⁵³ In 1918, however, following upon strong representations from the State Premiers, it agreed to make a payment of the same amount as that made to benevolent asylums toward the maintenance of a pensioner who became an inmate of a hospital.⁵⁴ Moreover, when the *Act* was amended in 1923 to allow an institutional pension to be granted to all inmates of benevolent asylums who were otherwise eligible for an invalid or old-age pension, an

⁵² See *C'wealth Deb.*, 119, September 15, 1928, pp. 6392-3; also *Act* No. 15 of 1923; *Act* No. 27 of 1925; and *Act* No. 31 of 1928.

⁵³ See *C'wealth Deb.*, LXXX., September 29, 1916, pp. 9140-3.

⁵⁴ Departmental sources.

amendment was also made which allowed a similar pension to be granted to a pensioner who remained in hospital for a longer period than 28 days. But the Commonwealth would not admit any liability, nor has it yet done so, in respect of inmates of asylums for the insane, whom it firmly regards as being the charge of the States.⁵⁵

GROWTH IN PENSIONERS AND EXPENDITURE, 1912-1930.

During the years 1912 to 1930 the expenditure upon invalid and old-age pensions increased from £2,142,212 to £10,633,979, or almost five-fold, whilst the number of pensioners increased from 89,834 to 223,736, rather less than three-fold. The annual increase in expenditure was comparatively small during the years 1912 to 1916. But higher rates of pension and other liberalizations of the provisions of the *Act*, as well as the growing number of pensioners, led to a more rapid rate of increase in expenditure during the years 1917 to 1930. The proportion of the total expenditure from consolidated revenue represented by expenditure upon invalid and old-age pensions varied at different stages between 1912 and 1930, but it was approximately one-seventh in both those years.⁵⁶

The number of old-age pensioners increased from 79,091 to 155,196, or from 17.3 to 24 per 1,000 of the population, during the years 1912 to 1930.⁵⁷ The proportion of old-age pensioners to persons eligible by age for a pension (women at 60 and men at 65) remained almost stationary at 33 per cent. between the years 1912 and 1924, the growing number of pensioners being due less to an increase in the population than to its ageing character.⁵⁸ But from 1924 onwards there was a substantial annual increase in the number of pensioners, and at June 30, 1930, old-age pensioners represented 40 per cent. of the population in the eligible age groups.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 105, August 24, 1923, pp. 3561, 3596; also *Act No. 15 of 1923*.

⁵⁶ Director-General of Social Services, *Fourth Report*, p. 6; *Commonwealth Year Book*, 1916, p. 649; *idem*, 1940, p. 845; and Clark and Crawford, *National Income of Australia*, p. 64.

⁵⁷ Director-General of Social Services, *Fourth Report*, p. 6.

⁵⁸ Royal Commission on National Insurance, *First Progress Report*, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Auditor-General, *Annual Report*, 1929-30, p. 41; *C'wealth P.P.* (1929-30).

The published figures, taken at their face value, suggest that the rate of increase in the number of invalid pensioners was much greater than that for old-age pensioners. In 1912 there were 10,763 pensioners officially classified as invalid pensioners; in 1930 there were 63,304. But these figures do not take account of the fact that, except for the transfer in 1934 of 4,056 invalid pensioners to the list of old-age pensioners, an applicant who was granted an invalid pension continued to be classified as an invalid pensioner even though he later became eligible through age for an old-age pension. The exact number of invalid pensioners (and consequently of old-age pensioners) correctly so designated is not known for the years prior to 1940. When, in 1939, a review was made, 32,351, or 35.6 per cent. of those who were in receipt of invalid pensions, were transferred to their correct designation of old-age pensioners.⁶⁰

At June 30, 1930, the annual liability for invalid and old-age pensions was estimated at £11,650,000, or more than twice the expenditure of £5,424,016 in 1923. The Auditor-General, Mr C. J. Cerutty, in reviewing the increase in expenditure during these years, suggested that it was due mainly to increases in the rates of pension, and to the fact that the higher rates had induced greater numbers to apply for a pension. He went on to question whether the conditions governing the granting of old-age pensions were not such as to sap independence, to induce thriftlessness, and to discourage that outlook which impels people to make provision for their declining years.⁶¹ He also pointed out that these conditions led many applicants improperly to divest themselves of money and property, and to resort to

⁶⁰ Director-General of Social Services, *Fourth Report*, p. 6, and Departmental sources.

⁶¹ Auditor-General, *Annual Report, 1929-30*, p. 41. He added : "While it cannot be doubted that many persons have been compelled through ill-health, or other misfortune, to seek an old-age pension, it is equally certain that many others have qualified through drink, gambling, laziness, extravagance, and waste. The liberal provisions of the law make no distinction between these two classes, and pensions are granted even when it is known that some of the applicants have led dissolute and lawless lives. The result is that the saving and thrifty, instead of being able to get full benefit of their past efforts, are called upon to contribute by taxation to the pensions of many persons whose previous mode of living has been such as to render them quite unworthy of assistance."

various other forms of misrepresentation in order to obtain a pension. Whilst the Auditor-General readily agreed that the aged should not be allowed to want, he considered that it was also clear that the rapidly increasing burden upon the taxpayer could not be continued, and that the *Act* needed revising. In particular, he believed that before a pension was granted the applicant should be required to assign his property to the Government, instead of leaving it to his children after being maintained by the Government for years.⁶² He also considered that children should be called upon to assume some responsibility for the maintenance of their aged parents.⁶³

The attention given by the Auditor-General to the rapidly increasing expenditure upon old-age pensions, and the suggestion which he made for its reduction, were far from welcomed by those members of Parliament who found it politically expedient to champion the cause of old-age pensioners. Some of his suggestions were pondered upon by the Government, however, and were adopted for a short while during the depression of the 'thirties.

ECONOMY MEASURES DURING THE 'THIRTIES.

The depression in all its severity was inherited by a Labour Government, under the leadership of Mr J. H. Scullin. This Government had succeeded the Bruce–Page Government after the elections held in October, 1929. As a party to the Premiers' Plan, to it fell the lot in July, 1931, of introducing legislation—the *Financial Emergency Act, 1931*—which, amongst other things, aimed to reduce the expenditure upon invalid and old-age pensions. This legislation did not, however, have the support of all Labour members, for the Labour Party had earlier split into several distinct groups. It was enacted with the assistance of those non-Labour members who considered that the economic condition of Australia rendered such a measure inevitable.

The main provisions of the *Financial Emergency Act, 1931*, in so far as it dealt with invalid and old-age pensions, were those which reduced the rate of pension by 2/6 per

⁶² The property provisions in the original *Act* were said to aim at encouraging pensioners to use their property for their own support, rather than to leave it to their children. But these provisions, as already noticed, were amended in 1912 to exclude a pensioner's home from consideration in determining the amount of his property.

⁶³ Auditor-General, *Annual Report, 1929-30*, pp. 41-2.

week. The *Act* provided, no doubt as a result of the Auditor-General's strictures, that overpayments of pension made as a result of misrepresentation should be recovered by court action. When the measure was first introduced it provided that, where a pensioner's home exceeded £500 in value, the amount above that figure should be regarded as property for the purpose of determining the rate of pension. But opposition to this proposal was so widespread that the relevant clause was deleted from the Bill.⁶⁴

The only other alteration of the invalid and old-age pensions legislation made by the Scullin Government was more of a relief than an economy measure. The rush made by depositors to withdraw their savings from the New South Wales Government Savings Bank had led to the closing of its doors. This prompted the introduction of amending legislation in October, 1931, which provided that, where a pensioner assigned his bank deposit to the Minister, the amount so assigned should not be counted as property in determining the rate of pension to which he was entitled. Where, upon repayment, the deposit assigned to the Minister exceeded the amount of pension paid by reason of the assignment, the excess amount was to be refunded to the pensioner.⁶⁵

Mr Scullin was succeeded as Prime Minister in January, 1932, by Mr J. A. Lyons, leader of the newly formed United Australia Party. In September of that year the Lyons Government introduced emergency legislation of a more restrictive character than that introduced by the Scullin Government in July, 1931. It is clear that the part of this legislation which dealt with invalid and old-age pensions was prompted as much by a feeling that the lavish policy of the 'twenties should be abandoned as by the need for economy if the budget were to be balanced.

When announcing that this legislation would be introduced, Lyons expressed the opinion, previously voiced by the Auditor-General, that the community could not afford the constantly increasing costs of invalid and old-age pensions. He pointed out that during the year 1929-30

⁶⁴ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 130, July 3, 1931, pp. 3403, 3725; also *Act No. 10 of 1931*.

⁶⁵ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 132, October 22, 1931, pp. 1086-7; also *Act No. 46 of 1931*. These provisions were not repealed until 1942.

the annual increase in pensioners (excluding those in benevolent asylums) had reached the record number of 13,959, and that this number had been considerably exceeded in each of the following two years. He expressed the hope that a contributory scheme might later be introduced. Meanwhile, it was necessary to reduce the expenditure on pensions, , and also to limit the granting of them to those for whom they were really intended.⁶⁶ This was one of the aims of the *Financial Emergency Act, 1932*. It provided for a reduction in the rate of pension, introduced more restrictive provisions dealing with a pensioner's property, and required that near relatives be compelled to contribute toward the support of applicants for pensions.

The general nature of this emergency legislation had been outlined by Lyons in his budget speech on September 1, 1932. He had then announced that it was proposed to reduce the rate of pension by a further 2/6 per week. Opposition to that proposal was so widespread, however, that when the legislation was introduced some two weeks later it provided that the reduction should apply only to a pensioner whose other income was less than 2/6 per week.⁶⁷ The upshot was that 63 per cent. of the pensioners continued to receive a pension at the previously existing rate of 17/6 per week.⁶⁸

Although the proposal to reduce the rate of pension was thus modified in the time that intervened between the announcement of legislation for this purpose and the introduction of that legislation, no modification was made of either the proposal to make the amount of pension granted a charge upon the pensioner's estate or of the proposal to compel relatives to contribute to the support of pensioners. These latter measures are the most significant of the amendments that were made during the 'thirties, and are therefore discussed in some detail.

'It was noticed that an applicant for an invalid pension who was adequately maintained by his near relatives was

⁶⁶ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 135, September 1, 1932, p. 104; *ibid.*, September 16, 1932, pp. 597-9; also F. A. Gisborne, "Australia's Pension Burden," in *Australian Quarterly*, December, 1931, pp. 92-103.

⁶⁷ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 135, September 16, 1932, pp. 599, 616.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 165, December 13, 1940, p. 1081.

not to be granted a pension.⁶⁹ *The Financial Emergency Act, 1932*, made the granting of old-age pensions subject to a similar condition. That provision applied to contributions that were made voluntarily. A more important provision introduced by the *Financial Emergency Act, 1932*, was one which required that near relatives who were able, and therefore morally bound to contribute toward the support of a claimant, or pensioner, should be compelled to do so. Where the relative did not offer to make a voluntary contribution, or where the amount offered was not acceptable to the Commissioner, he was required to appear before a magistrate, who was to determine whether or not the relative should be compelled to contribute, and, if so, the amount of contribution.⁷⁰

The inclusion of these provisions in the *Act* was prompted by the belief that there were large numbers of persons in the community in good circumstances who were content to let the whole burden of supporting their near relatives fall upon the Government. The Government did not intend that the provisions should place an obligation upon those who were unable to bear it. By ministerial direction, a married relative without children was not to be asked to contribute if his income were less than £312 per annum. Neither was a single or widowed relative whose income was less than £208 per annum. Moreover, in determining income, such things as medical expenses and the repayment of interest on a mortgage were to be excluded.⁷¹ The requirement that near relatives be compelled to contribute toward the support of pensioners harked back to earlier ideas, although no doubt the comments of the Auditor-General had some effect, and, casting round for support for the idea, a precedent was found in the South African old-age pensions legislation which

⁶⁹ The original *Act* prescribed that the term "relatives" be taken to mean "husband, wife, father, mother, or children." Amending legislation of 1917 (No. 22 of 1917) had deleted the words "or children." Those words were reinstated by the *Financial Emergency Act, 1932*.

⁷⁰ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 135, September 16, 1932, pp. 601-2. The hearing before the magistrate was to be held in private. Moneys received from relatives were to be paid into the consolidated revenue fund and not directly to the pensioner. He was to receive his pension in the normal manner.

⁷¹ See *ibid.*; also *ibid.*, 146, March 14, 1943, pp. 73-4.

included a similar requirement. The fact that there was this precedent elsewhere, however, did nothing to lessen the widespread unpopularity of these provisions. Scullin, the leader of the Labour Party, in opposing them, said that they recalled for him what he described as the cruel provisions of the earlier Victorian *Old-Age Pensions Act*. In language reminiscent of that used by McGowan on a somewhat similar occasion in the New South Wales Parliament,⁷² but with a display of great clarity of mind, he asserted :

The fundamental objection to the proposal is that it disregards the principle, which we have always recognised if not in practice at least in spirit, that the old-age pension is a right earned by the old people who have worked for and served their country. It may be asked if the pension is a right, why should it not be paid to all pensioners of eligible age irrespective of their income ? The answer is that the Commonwealth finances could not provide such an expenditure; but the right is there and we should not lose sight of it.⁷³

The provisions requiring contributions from near relatives were repealed in March, 1935. Actually they operated for only part of the time that they were on the statute book. When they were first introduced, the pressure of departmental work resulting from other amendments that were made at the same time was so great that it was decided to apply the provisions only to new applicants for pensions. This pressure lifted when further amendments of the *Act* were made in the latter part of 1933, and the Department was in a position to proceed to apply the provisions to those who were pensioners prior to October 13, 1932. But, because of delay in receiving instructions from Cabinet about the method to be adopted in approaching relatives, no action was taken until April 26, 1934. On that date instructions were issued that a review of pensions granted prior to October 13, 1932, was to be completed within six months. The review was not, however, completed. On June 18, 1934, the Government announced its intention to repeal the provisions requiring contributions from relatives, and all action in this matter thereupon ceased.⁷⁴

⁷² See T. H. Kewley, "Social Services in Australia (1900-10)," in Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. XXXIII. (1947), Part IV., pp. 232-33.

⁷³ *C'wealth Deb.*, 135, September 16, 1932, p. 602; see also *ibid.*, September 21, 1932, p. 617.

⁷⁴ See *ibid.*, 146, March 14, 1935, pp. 73-4; also Departmental sources.

The revenue collected on behalf of pensioners during the period in which the provisions were in force totalled £2,488. Of this amount £22 was collected on behalf of those who were pensioners on October 12, 1932, and the remainder on behalf of those who applied for a pension after that date.⁷⁵ The small number of relatives of pensioners who were found to be in a position to contribute toward their support, and the difficulty and cost of administration, were the reasons given by the Government for suspending the provisions.⁷⁶ Certainly, because of the difficulty in keeping track of changing individual circumstances, the provisions were costly to administer.⁷⁷ There is no adequate evidence, however, to refute the belief, which had prompted their introduction, that there were many near relatives of pensioners who were in a position to help support them. The depression and its widespread effects had, no doubt, greatly reduced the ability of relatives to contribute. But, when the operation of the provisions was suspended by administrative action on June 18, 1934,⁷⁸ preliminary investigations were far from complete, and little, if anything, had been done to enforce compulsory contributions.⁷⁹ Moreover, the very existence of the provisions could well have discouraged many persons whose children were in good circumstances from applying for a pension. Probably the main reason for suspending the provisions was their widespread unpopularity, but the knowledge that later in that year an election was to be held was hardly without some influence.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 146, March 14, 1935, p. 74; also *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 18, 1934.

⁷⁷ See *ibid.*, June 19, 1934.

⁷⁸ A Bill to repeal the provisions was introduced in July, 1943. The first speaker for the Labour Party (N. J. Makin) having, however, moved an amendment which provided for an increase in the rate of pension and for the removal of the provisions dealing with the estates of deceased pensioners, the Government announced that the debate on this matter would take up the time of what it regarded as more urgent legislation, and that it consequently did not intend to proceed with the Bill. The repeal of the provisions, which was the first legislative work of the new Parliament of the following year, was made retrospective to June 21, 1934. See *C'wealth Deb.*, 144, July 12, 1934, pp. 499, 524.

⁷⁹ See Auditor-General, *Annual Report, 1933-34*, p. 34; *C'wealth P.P.* (1934-7).

⁸⁰ See e.g. *C'wealth Deb.*, June 28, 1934, p. 2695.

The restrictive provisions dealing with a pensioner's property introduced by the *Financial Emergency Act, 1932*, were almost as unpopular as those which required contributions from relatives of pensioners. It was noticed earlier that the original *Act* excluded from the grant of a pension an applicant who had directly or indirectly deprived himself of property, or income, in order to qualify for a pension. The *Financial Emergency Act, 1932*, supplemented this provision by rendering ineligible for a pension a person who, within a period of five years preceding his claim, had transferred, other than for value, property of any kind exceeding in the aggregate £100. It also provided that the amount of pension paid after October 12, 1932, should be regarded as a debt due to the Commonwealth and a charge upon the pensioner's estate at his death in priority to all other debts, subject to specified exemptions and to encumbrances already existing on his real property. Like the requirement about contributions from relatives, these provisions also harked back to earlier ideas, although the comments of the Auditor-General no doubt had some effect. In searching for support for this proposal, precedents were found in the then existing Canadian old-age pensions legislation, and also, as already noticed, in the old-age pensions legislation that was in force in Victoria during the earlier part of the century.⁸¹

The Government was of opinion that, in order to apply these provisions satisfactorily, it should be empowered to control the sale and transfer of the property of pensioners. To this end no pension was to be granted, or payment of pension continued, unless the claimant, or pensioner, supplied the Commissioner with full particulars of the real property owned by him, or in which he had an interest. A pensioner was also required to sign an undertaking, known as the "white card," not to transfer or mortgage any real property without the prior consent of the Commissioner. In addition, so as to permit of a more speedy adjustment in the rate of pension than the annual review, a pensioner was required to advise the Commissioner of any property he acquired, or income he received, of an amount sufficient to affect the rate of his pension. Where the newly acquired property (excluding the home in which

⁸¹ See *ibid.*, 135, September 16, 1932, p. 601.

he resided) was of such value as to disentitle him to a pension, he was required to repay the amount of pension paid to him after October 12, 1932, to the extent to which the value of the property exceeded £400. Any balance of the pension paid that remained after the application of this provision was to be a charge upon the pensioner's estate at his death.⁸²

Unlike the provisions requiring contributions from relatives of pensioners, which remained unaltered during the period in which they were in force, the property provisions of the *Financial Emergency Act, 1932*, were several times amended. The amendments were intended either to remove anomalies or to liberalize the nature of the provisions. It was found, for example, that a pensioner's home had sometimes been paid for by his children on the understanding that, at his death, it would revert to them. To meet such cases, amending legislation was enacted which empowered the Commissioner, where hardship would otherwise be caused, to exempt any property or estate from, or to postpone, their operation.⁸³ That legislation also empowered the Commonwealth to accept a transfer from a pensioner of any unencumbered property. The purpose of the latter provision was to help a pensioner who owned property which had depreciated in value since his pension was granted, and which he found difficulty in selling. Upon transfer to the Commonwealth, the value of the property was to be disregarded in determining the amount of pension to which he was entitled.⁸⁴

The *Financial Relief Act, 1933*, which was enacted in October, 1933, further liberalized the property provisions, but did not change them fundamentally. The Government was of opinion that these provisions were based upon sound principles, and also made adequate arrangement for the granting of relief in cases of hardship. The Labour Party, on the other hand, was strongly opposed to the principles of the provisions. Moreover, some non-Labour members considered that the amendments proposed in the financial relief legislation did not go far enough. The latter agreed to the passing of that legislation, certain parts of which

⁸² See *ibid.*, p. 601-602.

⁸³ See *Act No. 64 of 1932*; also *C'wealth Deb.*, 137, November 23, 1932, p. 2695.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2696.

the Government declared to be urgent, only on the understanding that further amending legislation would be introduced before the end of the year.⁸⁵ The promised legislation, enacted in December, 1933, provided that the amount paid in pension should no longer be a first charge upon the pensioner's estate at his death. The amount of pension paid after December 31, 1932, was to remain a debt due to the Commonwealth, but was to be payable only after all other debts, and subject to an extended list of exemptions. A special feature of this amending *Act* was the removal of the "white card" provision. Pensioners were to be free to deal with their property without restriction by the Commissioner, but they were to advise him of any transfer or mortgage of their real property. Thus was removed, the Government claimed, the real deterrent to those who, though technically eligible for a pension, were not in need of it. In support of this contention it was pointed out that, during the period in which the "white card" provision was in force, 12,000 pensioners voluntarily surrendered their pensions, and new claims were reduced by 13,000 as compared with the same period of the previous year, making a reduction in the total number of pensioners for the first time since the invalid and old-age pensions schemes were introduced. When the "white card" provisions was removed, the number of pensioners considerably increased.⁸⁶

With removal of the "white card" provision, the main benefit to revenue became the amount received from the estates of deceased pensioners. A departmental survey carried out during 1934 revealed that the amount that could be collected from this source was severely limited. Of the 177,000 pensioners examined (out of a total of 260,000 pensioners), it was found that about 70 per cent. had no estate from which the Commonwealth's debt could be recovered. Of the remaining 30 per cent., 11 per cent. owned their own homes (the average net unencumbered value of each home being £285), but possessed no other property. A further 5 per cent. owned other property

⁸⁵ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 141, October 6, 1933, p. 3400; also *ibid.*, 143, December 6, 1933, p. 5626.

⁸⁶ See *Act No. 56 of 1933*; also *C'wealth Deb.*, 146, March 14, 1935, pp. 74-5.

(of an average value of £62) as well as their own homes.⁸⁷ The remaining 14 per cent. did not own their own homes, but possessed other property, the average value of which was £49.⁸⁸ The amount which the Commonwealth could collect from the estates of deceased pensioners was further limited by other debts having prior claim, as well as by the many exemptions allowed.⁸⁹ This factor, and the increasing difficulty in administering the property provisions, together with their unpopularity, led to their repeal, with three exceptions, in March, 1935.⁹⁰ One of the provisions retained required a pensioner to notify the Commissioner should he acquire property, or receive income, of an amount sufficient to affect the rate of his pension. Another provided that, where a pensioner's home was destroyed by fire, any insurance moneys received should not affect the rate of pension if, within a specified time, they were used for acquiring another home. The third enabled the Commonwealth to accept a transfer from a pensioner of any unencumbered property.⁹¹

It was noticed earlier that the emergency legislation introduced by the Lyons Government in September, 1932, reduced the rate of pension to 15/- per week, except where the pensioner was without other income of more than 2/6 per week. No further alteration in the rate of pension was made until October of the following year, when the *Financial Relief Act, 1933*, provided that the standard rate of pension should be 17/6 per week in all cases. That *Act* also provided that the rate of pension should vary automatically with the rise or fall in the retail price index

⁸⁷ It is not clear whether the homes of this latter group were of the same average value as the former. *I*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ The total collections from the estates of deceased pensioners from October 13, 1932, to April 4, 1935, the period for which the provisions were in force, amounted to £45,429. The total amount claimed was £146,578. Of this amount, £51,131 was subsequently waived and a further £50,018 remained uncollected.^{89A}

^{89A} Departmental sources.

⁹⁰ See *C'wealth Deb.*, 146, March 14, 1935, p. 76.

⁹¹ Up to June 30, 1935, 24 pensioners had transferred property to the Commonwealth. Only four transfers have been made since that date, the last being in 1938. See Auditor-General, *Annual Report, 1934-5*, p. 38; *C'wealth P.P.* (1934-7); also Departmental sources.

number for food and groceries, but not so as to exceed £1 per week, or be less than 17/6 per week.⁹²

To accord with a rise in the cost of living, the rate of pension was increased automatically to 18/- per week in July, 1935. When this increase was made, the Auditor-General claimed that, on the basis of the average index number of food and groceries, pensioners were then much better off than at any other time during the previous 24 years.⁹³ The rate of pension remained stationary until September, 1936, when by the *Financial Relief Act* (No. 2) it was increased to 19/- per week. This *Act* continued the provisions relating to cost of living adjustments, but substituted a new scale of index numbers which permitted of a more rapid variation. It also provided that the annual rate of pension should be not less than 18/- per week, or more than £1 per week.⁹⁴ The cost of living provisions were deleted in September, 1937, an amending *Act* at the same time restoring the pension to its pre-depression rate of £1 per week. That legislation also increased institutional pensions to 6/- per week, or 6d. per week more than the highest pre-depression rate.⁹⁵ No further amendments of the *Act* were made until December, 1940. In the meantime, an unsuccessful attempt was made, with the national insurance legislation of 1938, to introduce a contributory pensions scheme.

GROWTH IN PENSIONERS AND EXPENDITURE, 1931-39.

During the year ended June, 1931, there was a record increase of 22,246 in the number of pensioners. The annual increase in the number of pensioners during each of the following years of the 'thirties, except for 1933, when there was a decrease, was much higher than the average annual increase during the 'twenties. One result was that the total number of pensioners rose from 223,736 in 1930 to 326,868 in 1939. During that period the number of old-age pensioners, officially so classified, increased from 24

⁹² See *C'wealth Deb.*, 141, October 6, 1933, p. 3399; also *Act No. 17* of 1933.

⁹³ Auditor-General, *Annual Report, 1934-35*, pp. 37-8.

⁹⁴ See *Act No. 29* of 1936; also *C'wealth Deb.*, 151, September 10, 1936, pp. 38, 167.

⁹⁵ See *ibid.*, 154, August 31, 1937, pp. 292-3; also *Act No. 11* of 1937.

per 1,000 of the population to 33.5 per 1,000. That proportion in 1939 would have shown as much higher had the practice earlier been adopted of regularly transferring to the list of old-age pensioners those invalid pensioners who became eligible through age for an old-age pension. When in 1940, as already noticed, large numbers of invalid pensioners were placed under their correct designation of old-age pensioners, the proportion of old-age pensioners per 1,000 of the population was shown at 38.8⁹⁶. In that year old-age pensioners represented 42.6 per cent. of the population in the eligible age groups.⁹⁷

In his report before retiring in 1935, the Auditor-General, C. J. Cerutty, expressed particular concern about the increase in the number of invalid pensioners. He drew attention especially to the number of claims illegally granted to applicants who were not permanently incapacitated for work.⁹⁸ His successor, albeit somewhat reluctantly because of the hostile reception given to Cerutty's comments by some politicians,⁹⁹ further explored this question and found that the increase was mainly due to the disproportionate growth in the number of invalid pensioners in New South Wales. He found, for example, that, of the invalid pensioners in New South Wales who applied to the Repatriation Department for a service pension, thirty-seven had their claims rejected after being examined by the medical officers of that Department, and were referred back to the Invalid and Old-Age Pensions Office. Upon reviewing these grants, the officers of the latter office immediately cancelled sixteen of them, the pensioners not being permanently incapacitated for work. The Auditor-General considered that this review gave some

⁹⁶ Director-General of Social Services, *Fourth Report*, p. 6.

⁹⁷ A. P. Elkin, "Our 'New Order' and Liberty," in *Public Administration* (Sydney), Vol. IV (1946), No. 6, p. 277.

⁹⁸ *Annual Report, 1934-35*, pp. 39-40. Because of the close attention which he paid to the growing expenditure upon invalid and old-age pensions, Mr Cerutty became extremely unpopular with the Lyons Government.

⁹⁹ He expressed the fear that his comments might be misinterpreted, and then added: "The obligations of my office, however, require that I shall report matters of this nature and, unpleasant though such may be, I must, of necessity, carry out the duty imposed upon me by the legislature." *Annual Report, 1936-37*, p. 34; *C'wealth P.P.* (1937-40).

indication of the percentage of invalid pensions that were irregularly granted in New South Wales. He attributed this situation to the "inadequate and unsatisfactory medical organisation" of the Invalid and Old-Age Pensions Office in that State, and suggested that permanent medical officers should be appointed to take over the work of examining applicants that was being done by private medical practitioners. These comments of the Auditor-General ultimately led to steps being taken to see that more care was exercised in the granting of invalid pensions.¹⁰⁰

During the first part of the period extending from June 30, 1931, to June 30, 1939, reductions in the rate of pension and other economy measures kept the expenditure upon invalid and old-age pensions fairly constant. The expenditure of £11,762,030 in 1935 was approximately the same as that for 1931, and during each of the intervening years the expenditure was slightly less than that amount. During the years 1936 to 1939 expenditure gradually increased, reaching £15,991,782 for the year ended June, 1939. In that year the expenditure on invalid and old-age pensions represented approximately 17 per cent. of the expenditure from consolidated revenue, as against approximately 15 per cent. in 1931.¹⁰¹

THE INVALID AND OLD-AGE PENSIONS ACT, 1908-1937.

At the end of the 'thirties, although the *Act* had been frequently amended since its introduction in 1909, the general nature of the invalid and old-age pensions schemes remained unchanged. The two most important amendments were those which dealt with compulsory contributions from relatives of pensioners, and with the estates of deceased pensioners. These were like the proposals earlier recommended for inclusion in the *Act* by the Royal Commission on Old-Age Pensions of 1905-6, but which had been unacceptable to the Parliament that enacted the original legislation. Introduced during the depression, they inevitably reflected the belief that pensioners should not be excluded from the general sacrifice that all were called upon to bear, and particularly from the reduction in

¹⁰⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 32-4; also *ibid.*, 1938-39, pp. 31-32; *C'wealth P.P.* (1937-40).

¹⁰¹ See Director-General of Social Services, *Fourth Report*, p. 6; also *Commonwealth Year Book*, 1940, p. 845.

salaries and allowances suffered by all other persons in receipt of Government salaries, allowances, and interest on Government stock. There was, of course, a temporary concern for the attitudes of mind created by the extravagances of the 'twenties—the sort of philosophy voiced by the Auditor-General—and it was easy to carry over these ideas to an assertion that the growing liability for pensioners was beyond the capacity of an ageing community, and a comparatively stationary population, to afford. But the widespread unpopularity of these provisions, and especially the opposition of the Labour Party to them, led to their repeal within three years of having been enacted. Concern about the growing liability for pensioners nevertheless remained, some believing that this liability would make it impossible to embark upon any additional social services without seriously threatening the whole financial fabric of the Commonwealth. This concern was largely responsible for the attempt made in 1938 to place pensions on a contributory basis.

The remaining amendments made between the years 1909 and 1939 were mostly designed either to remove anomalies or to increase the rate of pension and otherwise liberalize the provisions of the *Act*. The rate of pension was increased gradually from the original weekly rate of 10/- to 20/- in 1925, at which rate it remained until 1931, when it was reduced to 17/6 per week. Several variations were made in the rates of pension between the years 1931 and 1937, the weekly rate being restored to 20/- during the latter year. The requirement of the original *Act* that an applicant for an old-age pension be of good character remained unamended, but the means test, which applied to both invalid and old-age pensioners, was liberalized. An amendment in 1912 provided that a pensioner's home was to be disregarded in determining the amount of property he possessed. And, in 1923, the amount of other property that he might possess without the rate of his pension being affected was increased from £310 to £400. At the same time, the amount of permissible income for pensioners other than blind pensioners, who were more favourably treated, was increased from the weekly rate of 10/- to 12/6. The scope of the schemes remained unaltered, except for the inclusion in 1926 of Indians born in British India. So also did the age and residential

requirements remain unchanged, except for an amendment in 1923 which permitted an invalid pension to be granted to specified applicants who had resided in Australia for a period of 20 years. An important development was the payment of institutional pensions to, and maintenance payments on behalf of, inmates of benevolent asylums who were otherwise eligible for an invalid or old-age pension, and also pensioners who became inmates of hospitals.

The liberalization of the provisions of the Act, together with the growth in the number of pensioners, led to an increase in expenditure from £2,149,659 for the year ended June 30, 1912, the first full year in which the invalid and old-age pensions schemes were both in force, to £15,991,782 for the year ended June 30, 1939. The increase of £13,842,123 in the annual rate of expenditure during this period of twenty-seven years was considered by some to be extravagant. But the annual expenditure upon invalid and old-age pensions was to increase by a much greater amount before many more years had passed.

V.—DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1939.

Under the influence of the world-wide demand for social security which gained force during World War II., the Commonwealth Government has introduced a wide range of social services. These include child endowment, widows' pensions, sickness and unemployment benefits, funeral benefits for invalid and old-age pensioners, allowances for the wives of invalid pensioners, and several health services. The expenditure of the Commonwealth on health and social services during the year ending June, 1953, is estimated at £164,179,000. Of this amount, invalid and old-age pensions are estimated to cost £72,485,000.

The increase that has taken place in the annual expenditure upon invalid and old-age pensions is largely accounted for by the gradual raising of the rates of pension from £1 in 1939 to £3/7/6 at the present time. Another important factor has been the several amendments of the *Act* which have enabled increasing numbers to qualify for benefit. Of the amendments, the most significant have been those which have liberalized the "means test," i.e., the income and property provisions.

It was noticed earlier that there has for long been a demand for the granting of old-age (since 1947 known as

“age”) pensions without a means test. This demand derived from the notion that old-age pensions were a right, being a reward for past services rendered to the community, and that the only way in which the stigma of charity could be removed from them was to grant them to all aged persons irrespective of their means. That this demand was not strongly pressed was due to a recognition that the financial condition of the Commonwealth did not permit of the adoption of such a proposal. Not until the latter part of World War II was this demand voiced seriously. Then it derived from a realization, following upon the establishment of the national welfare fund and the imposition of a social service tax on incomes, that social services were not wholly “something for which the other fellow paid.” With this awakening had come a questioning of whether or not any value was being received, or was likely to be received, by the majority of persons in return for the heavy income tax which they were required to pay. It is this questioning which has led Governments during recent years to explore closely the practicability of establishing a system of universal old-age pensions. When such a system will be established is uncertain. But that old-age pensions will ultimately be granted without a means test may safely be predicted.

The Hunter Valley.

A Century of Its History.

By JAMES JERVIS, A.S.T.C. (Fellow).

(*Read in part before the Society, September 25, 1951.*)

PART II.

In November, 1841, it was reported that the church was complete except for the internal fittings. Aid had been granted by the Government in 1839 towards the work, which cost £1800. The new church was opened for worship by Rev. John Morse in January, 1842.²⁰⁹

Bishop Broughton again visited Sccone in 1843, and wrote thus concerning it :—

²⁰⁹ *Hunter River Gazette*, January 8, 1842.

July 14 . . . Walked with Mr. Morse to the village, containing a few scattered huts. Went successively into all, and endeavoured by exhortation to awaken the people to a more becoming sense of their religious duties. Great insensibility prevailing and little apparent impression produced on any.

July 15 . . . Consecrated the church yard, the church not being yet so complete as to internal preparation as to admit of that solemnity at present. It is a large commodious building, of brick, rather awkwardly designed. . . . There is also a neat vestry. . . . The consecration was attended by the principal families in the neighbourhood, forming but a small congregation. From the village not a single inhabitant came, though many of them had relatives interred in the ground.²¹⁰

The church was consecrated on October 11, 1845, by Bishop Broughton, who was attended by the Revs John Cameron and Gore. The report of the ceremony said²¹¹ :

The Church has been completely furnished by a few benevolent individuals and altogether presents a highly gratifying appearance.

In 1846, Sccone had only 14 houses; by 1851 this number had increased to 37, and the population numbered 180. A new court house was built in 1849.

Dr John Dunmore Lang, who visited Sccone in 1850, stated that 250,000 sheep were shorn in the neighbourhood. Lang wrote :—

. . . public houses, which are neither few nor far between and grow well in such localities, even without rain.

"Sccone," said Lang, "has always been a rather aristocratic neighbourhood."

Archbishop Polding laid the foundation stone of a new Roman Catholic church on February 17, 1860,²¹² and the building was opened in September, 1861.²¹³

A meeting concerning the establishment of a National school was held in March, 1858, when it was decided to make application for a site for the building.²¹⁴

Erection of a steam flour mill was begun by John Burer, of Aberdeen, in 1860, and the work was completed in the following year. A stone store and a number of private houses were built in 1860. A Presbyterian church was opened by the Rev. J. S. White on January 13, 1861.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ *Journal of Visitation*, 1843.

²¹¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 16, 1845.

²¹² *Maitland Mercury*, February 21, 1860.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, September 9, 1861.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, March 9, 1858.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, January 31, 1861.

The town had three churches, two schools, four brick-yards, a flour mill, five hotels and numerous stores in 1866.

A report in 1870 stated that there were several stores in the townships. Hotels were fewer in number than in most country towns of the same size. Schools and churches had not increased in number since 1866.

MERRIWA.

The Colonial Secretary informed the Surveyor-General on January 16, 1840, that the Governor had approved of the "plan of Merriwa" submitted.

There were ten houses in the village in 1846. In 1848 an inn was erected. A National school was established in 1850. It was stated in 1851²¹⁶ that the township was rapidly rising in importance. During the previous fifteen months, twenty new houses and an Anglican church had been erected.²¹⁷ The church, a slab building, was consecrated by the Bishop on March 19, 1855.²¹⁸

In 1858 there were in Merriwa "three respectable inns, five stores, two blacksmiths, a few bush carpenters, also tailors and shoemakers." The remainder of the inhabitants were mainly carriers who chose the place as their home on account of the excellent pasturage it afforded their cattle while spelling. A Roman Catholic church was in course of erection. A new court house was completed in November, 1858, and the church referred to above finished about the same time.²¹⁹

In 1876 it was reported that a new School of Arts, a public school, a parsonage and a number of buildings were to be built.²²⁰

Merriwa had a population of about 200 in 1866.

The new Roman Catholic church named St Anne's was opened by Bishop Torregiani on June 13, 1881.²²¹ The construction of a new court house was begun in March, 1885.

RAYMOND TERRACE.

The earliest reference I have traced to the name of

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, June 5, 1850.

²¹⁷ *Ibid*, July 12, 1851.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, March 31, 1855.

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, November 13, 1858.

²²⁰ *Town and Country Journal*, May 6, 1876.

²²¹ *Ibid*, June 18, 1881.

Raymond Terrace occurs in Macquarie's Journal under date July 29, 1818. The Governor was on a visit to Newcastle, and went up the river on a journey of exploration. Macquarie writes : "At 4 p.m. landed on Raymond Terrace close to the entrance to the First Branch and encamped there for the night."

From the nature of the reference, it is apparent that the name was already in use, but there is nothing to indicate who bestowed the name or when.

When Henry Dangar was engaged on survey work in the Hunter Valley, he reserved land for a township site at Raymond Terrace. Writing to the Surveyor-General, Dangar said :—

The land at a place called "Raymond's Terrace" coloured as a reserve at the suggestion of the Commandant proposed to be reserved to include Raymond's Terrace was section No. 45 and 39 of Township No. 23 and I beg leave to submit that sections No. 44 and 38 of the same township as proper land to be reserved for the purposes of Government and to complete the necessary reservations for that township.

On October 25, 1823, Dangar was instructed that sections 44 and 38 were considered as being necessary, in addition to the sections containing Raymond's Terrace, and were to be marked on the map.

In 1834, James King, of Irrawang, applied to purchase land at Raymond Terrace in order to establish a pottery. The Surveyor-General was instructed that a village should be laid out and a design submitted for the Governor's approval as soon as possible. Surveyor G. B. White was requested on September 15, 1834, to survey the village reserve and submit a report. On July 21, 1835, the Surveyor-General submitted a design for the "Village of Irrawang Bay" at Raymond Terrace for the approval of the Governor. Some delay in the matter occurred at this stage, and the Surveyor-General was asked to explain why the land applied for by one Andrew Bennett, which formed part of the village reserve, had been reported to the Colonial Secretary as being vacant. Eventually Bennett, who had erected a hut on the village site, was allowed to purchase six allotments, and the Surveyor-General was instructed to mark 100 acres for him.

On July 31, 1836, the residents of the locality wrote to the Governor stating that they were greatly in need of a village where various tradesmen might permanently

reside and carry on their avocation, as they were compelled to get work required to be done either in Maitland or Sydney, which caused them great inconvenience. The letter continued :—

The land reserved for that purpose on the banks of the river Hunter between the grants of Mr. B. Graham and that of Mr. Bennett is eminently calculated for that purpose both as regards extent and level, dry surface, while the frontage to the river affords as good landing as any other part we know on the banks of the river.

We beg therefore to solicit that allotments in that village may be allowed to be put up for sale with as little delay as possible.

The Colonial Secretary informed the Surveyor-General on November 22, 1836, that the Council advised that the "Village should be called Raymond Terrace as originally proposed and marked." On January 5, 1837, the Surveyor-General was instructed that the village should be laid out as soon as possible, so that Bennett could select his six allotments. The plan was accordingly submitted to the Council, but it was not until November 27, 1837, that the Governor and Executive Council approved of the design, with the exception of some of the streets which were to be altered. The minimum price of land in the village was fixed at £4 per acre.

Surveyor G. B. White was instructed on December 20, 1837, to lay out the sections as shown on the plan. Early in 1838 James King applied, as agent for Bennett, to have the six allotments referred to above marked out, and White was instructed to survey them.

James King had apparently already established his pottery, as specimens of brown earthenware were sent to Sydney in May, 1834.²²²

DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAGE.

In May, 1840, a press item stated that the town of Raymond Terrace was rapidly rising into importance. A powerful steam mill was being erected, and was expected to commence grinding soon. A spacious court house was nearly ready for the roof, and money had been subscribed for the erection of a church and parsonage. A clergyman (Rev. C. Spencer) had been appointed in 1839, and a surgeon was in residence. A commodious punt was being built to run a service across the river at this point.²²³

²²² *Sydney Herald*, May 1, 1834.

²²³ *Ibid*, May 1, 1840.

A school was opened in 1840 with an attendance of 24 pupils under the charge of William Johnstone. The 1840 Census returns show that Raymond Terrace had a population of 364, and the number of houses was 49. The development of the town induced James King to subdivide 100 acres of land in June, 1840, into building blocks.²²⁴

The foundation stone of a parsonage was laid by Rev. C. Spencer on February 18, 1841. A news item in 1842 stated²²⁵ :—

There are a considerable number of houses at present erecting in this township; they are tenanted the moment they are finished.

In this rapidly rising village there are an English and Scotch clergyman, a Police Magistrate, a Doctor or two, and an unpaid magistrate or two.

Improvement was noted in 1844, when it was said that :—

Raymond Terrace is a very prettily situated town and one which has made rapid strides in improvement as a swamp at the back which covers an immense tract is in course of being drained by the spirited proprietor, R. Windeyer, Esq., and I am credibly informed this will be accomplished effectually.²²⁶

James King's pottery was still busy in 1844 and manufactured teapots, sugar boxes, flower pots, bread pans, etc. A report in 1846 stated a tobacco manufactory was to be established.

A steam flour mill was in the course of erection in 1848, and another public house was about to be opened. It was really required because of the increase between New England and the town. At this stage wool was being carried from New England, and the road traffic gave a fillip to the town's business.²²⁷

The population of Raymond Terrace was 263 in 1848, and it contained 53 houses.

A news item in 1850 said²²⁸ :—

Raymond Terrace is the most drunken and disorderly place in the colony of its size.

. . . . the general population is on the increase. The Bishop of Newcastle is preparing to commence a Church of England educational establishment in some central position on a property he has bought for that object.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, July 8, 1840.

²²⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 25, 1842.

²²⁶ *Maitland Mercury*, March 16, 1844.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, April 22, 1848.

²²⁸ *Ibid*, January 18, 1854.

The foundation stone of a Methodist church was laid on May 6, 1851,²²⁹ but the building was not completed and opened until January 15, 1854.²³⁰

The town was said to be "rapidly progressing" in 1853, and much business was being done.

T. Whiteley, who resided in the district in the 1850's, writes²³¹ :—

The town had a run of prosperity but met a terrible setback in the devastating flood of 1857. . . . Following upon this was a considerable dispersion of the farming interest to the Manning and other districts to take up land under the new Land Act. The divergence in the route of traffic to New England added to the combination of adverse effects which it took long to recover from.

The erection of a Roman Catholic church, long talked of, was begun in 1860. A news item in 1861 says²³² : "Operations in connection with the Roman Catholic Church continue to progress satisfactorily." The foundation stone of the new building was laid on February 27, 1861.²³³

In 1866 Raymond Terrace had a steam mill, a tannery and four hotels. There were four churches and three schools in the town.

A visitor in 1870 wrote²³⁴ :—

Its buildings are mostly of a substantial character, but it looks what it really is; in times of flood, too low to be pleasant. It has a school of arts, a courthouse, several hotels and inns, with a few stores, a tannery and some comfortable looking cottages.

ST HELIERS.

The village derived its name from the estate of Colonel Dumaresq, where a mansion was erected in 1828.

A news item in 1870 referred to "the deserted village of St. Hilliers," about a mile and a half from Muswellbrook, which was reduced to one cottage.²³⁵ Formerly there were an inn and a butcher's shop. It had been used as a camping spot by teamsters. A toll gate had been built close by, but, as the railway was about to open, it was expected the gate would soon lose its large receipts.

²²⁹ *Maitland Mercury*, May 10, 1851.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, January 18, 1854.

²³¹ *Reminiscences of the Lower Hunter*: Mitchell Library, Sydney.

²³² *Maitland Mercury*, January 5, 1861.

²³³ *Ibid*, March 5, 1861.

²³⁴ *Town and Country Journal*, February 12, 1870.

²³⁵ *Ibid*, August 6, 1870.

SINGLETON.

An inn stood on the site of the present town of Singleton in 1827. A newspaper correspondent visited the locality in that year, and wrote²³⁶ :—

I give you my bill of fare for a night's lodging at the Plough Inn, Patrick's Plains; nothing can be more moderate, yet look at the brandy—

Supper, with tea, 1/3.

Bed, 1/3.

Horse [as much as he could eat] 1/3.

Breakfast—eggs and pork, 1/3.

Servants eating 1/-.

Half pint of brandy, 3/9.

I read over the door, "Plough Inn," by Joseph Singleton, dealer in wines and spirits.

Benjamin Singleton erected a mill at Patrick's Plains about 1829.

In January, 1836, a land sale was held at what the advertisement called "Singleton," and this sale marks the beginnings of the town. Forty-five quarter-acre blocks were sold at an average price of £33/13/5 per acre.²³⁷

A private school, Singleton House school, was in operation in 1839.²³⁸

A news item in 1839 runs thus²³⁹ :—

Hunter River, at all times the most flourishing district in the colony, is daily becoming more and more so. Patrick's Plains is becoming quite a town and land is rising in value.

Another sale of land was held in July, 1840, when 100 lots in the town of Singleton fetched nearly £4000. Some of the lots sold at as high as 27/- per foot frontage. Early in 1841, twenty lots were sold at an average of 12/6 per foot.

In August, 1841, a court house built by Singleton was opened. Earlier the court had been held on the ground floor of Singleton's mill, but the noise of the industry overhead was rather distracting.

The Patrick's Plains Benefit Society was established in 1841, the object being to afford relief to members in case of sickness or death.²⁴⁰

²³⁶ *Australian*, February 10, 1827.

²³⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, January 9, 1836.

²³⁸ *Australian*, December 26, 1839.

²³⁹ *Sydney Herald*, November 6, 1839.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, January 13, 1842.

A hospital had been established prior to 1842, and in that year the building used was offered for sale.²⁴¹

A boiling down establishment was set up by J. B. Bossley in 1844.

A slab church was built for the Roman Catholic community, and opened in January, 1845, on land given by John Brown of Maison Dieu.²⁴²

A news item in 1844 stated that the numerous small settlers in the neighbourhood of Singleton had harvested sufficient grain to enable them to pay their rent as well as enabling them to lay in a stock of the necessaries of life. £200 had been collected for the erection of an Anglican church. The Rev. Cameron was much liked, and preached in "two of Mr. Dangar's houses thrown into one."²⁴³

J. B. Bossley, who then owned the mill erected by B. Singleton, offered land in John Street for the erection of a church. This was accepted, and the Bishop offered to complete the building commenced as a schoolhouse, for use as a parsonage.²⁴⁴

Bishop Broughton visited Singleton and reported that on July 8 he was engaged in examining a building then vacant, containing a large room which he considered could be fitted up at small expense for use as a chapel and also serve as a schoolroom. The Bishop agreed to rent it for two years at a rental of £40 per annum. He left a plan for placing the desk, communion table, font, benches, etc.²⁴⁵

It was reported in 1844 that All Saints', Singleton, was in course of erection.

At a meeting held in April, 1845, the question of establishing a Mechanics' Institute was discussed, and it was decided to form one.

A brewery commenced operations early in 1845.²⁴⁶

A news item in June, 1845, stated that house building seemed to have been completely suspended, and Singleton wore the appearance of being a "finished town."²⁴⁷

The first show of the Patrick's Plains and Upper

²⁴¹ *Australian*, May 10, 1842.

²⁴² *Maitland Mercury*, January 25, 1845.

²⁴³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 27, 1844.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, March 23, 1844.

²⁴⁵ *Journal of a Visitation*.

²⁴⁶ *Maitland Mercury*, February 15, 1845.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1845.

Hunter Agricultural Association was held in March, 1846.²⁴⁸

The number of houses in the town in 1846 was 123, and the population numbered 565. The population figures in 1841 were 431.

A second brewery was established in 1849. An Oddfellows' Lodge was opened in that year.

It was announced in 1849 that a new Anglican church was to be erected. Stonework already erected was to be demolished. The church, designed by Edmund Blacket, was to be called "All Saints'," and the foundation stone was laid in August.²⁴⁹ The church, built by Thomas Turner of Sydney, was completed in November, 1850, and consecrated on March 19, 1851.

It was stated in February, 1850, that the Roman Catholics were bestirring themselves to have a church built, as the existing one was not large enough. However, it was not until 1859 that the foundation stone was laid by Archbishop Vaughan.²⁵⁰

The town had ten inns in 1853.

Dr. John Dunmore Lang described Singleton in 1850 as a "really respectable colonial town with a considerable number of creditable buildings."

The Mechanics' Institute established in 1846 had closed down in 1848, and it was re-established in 1856, when Walter Rotton gave the use of a building rent free for three years.²⁵¹

A branch of the Australian Joint Stock Bank was opened in 1860.

The foundation stone of a Methodist church was laid on January 26, 1857, by the Rev. J. Pemell, minister of the circuit.²⁵²

In June, 1859,²⁵³ the foundation stone of a Free Presbyterian church was laid by Pearce Bowman, of Richmond. It was opened on April 29, 1860.²⁵⁴

It was stated in 1861 that a new Benevolent Asylum

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*, March 7, 1846.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, August 29, 1849.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, April 2, 1859.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, July 26, 1856.

²⁵² *Ibid*, January 31, 1857.

²⁵³ *Ibid*, June 4, 1859.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*, May 5, 1860.

was approaching completion, and that a number of new cottages were being erected. The news item continues²⁵⁵ :

Generally speaking it must be admitted that Singleton has greatly improved during the last few years, both as to the number and the style of buildings that have been erected during that period.

A preliminary meeting to discuss the formation of a municipality was held at the Royal Hotel on August 13, 1861.²⁵⁶ However, the municipality was not gazetted until 1866.

The Commercial Bank established a branch in the town in 1866.

A bridge across the Hunter River was opened by Sir John Young on August 30, 1866, and named "The Bridge of Singleton."²⁵⁷

A visitor in 1866 wrote²⁵⁸ :—

The town of Singleton has very much improved of late years. . . . The old style of country township house of slab and weather-board is fast dying out, and good brick buildings meet the eye in every direction.

Singleton had two flour mills at work in 1866. Its public buildings consisted of a hospital, a Mechanics' Institute, a court houses and several churches. The town had nine hotels. A newspaper, the *Singleton Times*, was published.²⁵⁹

A Masonic Lodge called St Andrew's was opened in 1867.²⁶⁰

Tenders for a new court house were invited in February, 1867, and the building completed in November, 1868.

A new school house for St Patrick's church was opened early in 1868.²⁶¹

In 1869 the court house was said to be "a noble building." The School of Arts, a "handsome and substantial structure," had cost £2500. The writer of the news article said : "Singleton will never, I think become a very large town, but will get along very well."

The Northern Agricultural Society held its exhibitions

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, December 12, 1861.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, August 17, 1861.

²⁵⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 1, 1866.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, May 3, 1866.

²⁵⁹ *Bailliere's Gazetteer*.

²⁶⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 21, 1867.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*, February 1, 1868.

on the local show ground, where two large pavilions had been erected by Aldermen Moore and Loder at their own expense. The water supply of the town came mainly from the Hunter River, and was carried in water carts to the consumer.²⁶²

A new school building was opened in November, 1876, on the site of the old schoolhouse.

In 1881 additions to the Roman Catholic church were decided upon, and a new Methodist church was being built. New hotels were in course of erection, and a gas works was nearly completed.²⁶³

The new Methodist church was opened on February 5, 1882.²⁶⁴

The municipality of South Singleton was proclaimed in December, 1884, and the first council elected in March, 1885.

Some notes made by a visitor in 1888 are of interest : Those who can remember it as it was a few decades back are now at a loss to recognise in the large and daily growing place the Singleton of that era, with its two main thoroughfares, George and John streets almost destitute of any considerable buildings, and a few irregular lines of huts and cottages straggling from them. . . . There are a new Court House, several banks, new stores and innumerable new houses. . . . A small park, well ordered and planted has been made at the head of the town, and another and larger one beyond it was presented to the public on Jubilee Day, and has been named, after the donor, Howe Park. At every corner, and at frequent intervals in all the streets are still to be found the inevitable public houses. . . . An entirely new suburb, called South Singleton, with a small temporary church . . . has sprung up in the vicinity of the railway station and Showground.²⁶⁵

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(Concluded.)

²⁶² *Ibid*, November 3, 1869.

²⁶³ *Town and Country Journal*, May 28, 1881.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, February 11, 1882.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, July 7, 1888.

The Recognition of Governor Arthur Phillip in England.

By K. R. CRAMP, O.B.E., M.A. (Fellow).

When visiting England in 1950, I was intent on seeing as many as possible of the historical spots in which Australians would be interested. Foremost in my mind were places connected with the name of Governor Phillip, particularly Bread Street, London; 19 Bennett Street, Bath (where Phillip resided for the last seven or eight years of his life); Bath Abbey; and St Nicholas' Church, Bathampton, a charming little English village two miles distant from Bath, and the burial place of our first Governor.

GOVERNOR PHILLIP AT BATH.

Some years after his return from Australia, Arthur Phillip secured the lease of 19 Bennett Street on December 20, 1806, and lived there till he passed away on August 31, 1814, in the seventy-sixth year of his life. During his residence in Bath he was visited by Philip Gidley King in 1808, who then wrote about him thus :—

I was with Admiral Phillip a week. He is very much altered, having lost the entire use of his whole right side, arm and leg; his intellect and spirit are as good as ever. He may linger on for some years under his present infirmity, but from his age a great reprieve cannot be expected.

The names of other persons mentioned in Australian history are also associated with Bath, such as Mrs Grose, the wife of Lieutenant-Governor Grose; John Macarthur, during his enforced absence from New South Wales; and George A. Robinson, that good Methodist of Tasmania who was able to induce the aborigines to submit to the Government after its attempted drive to capture them had failed. Robinson lived at Prospect Hill, Widcombe Hall, Bath, from 1853 to 1866, and was buried in the cemetery of Bath Abbey.

An unpleasant suggestion about Phillip's death is one to which the people of Bath, so far as my knowledge goes, will not give credence. One prominent citizen, Alderman Sturge Cotterell, stated quite definitely :—

There is no mystery about the death of Admiral Phillip and his burial in the church he loved at Bathampton. After a long, lingering illness, he passed away in Bennett Street, a few yards

distant from the celebrated Assembly Room, then almost a new attraction to this famous spa.

His funeral took place on September 7, 1814. It was a private funeral with but a few friends attending. Phillip's wife, Isabella, survived him by nine years, and died in 1823 in her seventy-first year. Then the Phillips seem to have been forgotten or unknown locally for eighty-three years, until an Australian official instituted some inquiries in 1897.

PHILLIP'S GRAVE AT BATHAMPTON.

In that year James Bonwick, an Australian historian, was in England seeking information for publication in the *Historical Records of New South Wales*. Numbered among his quests was one concerning the burial place of Governor Phillip and his association with Bath. He applied to the Alderman mentioned above, T. Sturge Cotterell, of Bath, who thereupon instituted a search campaign for Phillip's grave. But so forgotten was its location that Alderman Cotterell was for some time baffled. He prosecuted his search among the churches of Bath itself, possibly commencing with the cemetery of Bath Abbey. Following this futile effort, he extended his field of investigations to include eight other churches in Somersetshire. Finally he turned his attention to St Nicholas' Church, Bathampton.

When I visited that little village in 1950, I took an entrancing walk from Bath to Bathampton along a gently sloping hillside, with a track and a canal curiously enough half-way up the slope, and the railway below at the foot of the hill. The track commanded a wide panorama of typically beautiful very green fields, dotted here and there with small clusters of trees. A two miles' walk brought me to St Nicholas' Church, Bathampton, snugly, unostentatiously, and, one might say, religiously tucked away in a quiet corner.

This was the area that Cotterell searched after his other previous fruitless efforts. Though accompanied by the Vicar, his first day's search was just as futile as all the preceding ones. Fortunately he persisted, and on the second day two gravestones lying horizontally and forming a small portion of the church aisle were discovered, perhaps because the cleaner had lifted the carpet. On

one of these, the second within the entrance, were engraved the following :—

Underneath lie the Remains
of Arthur Phillip, Esq.,
Admiral of the Blue,
Who died 31st August 1814
in his 76th year.
Also of Isabella,
Relict of the above
Admiral Phillip,
Who died 4th March 1823
In the 71st Year of her Age.

Thus on either April 16 or 17, 1897, Phillip's resting place was re-discovered after it had disappeared from the historian's ken since 1814. Why was it inside the church that his remains were at rest ? The present Vicar, whom I met, surmised that the grave was originally in the graveyard close to the church, with the stone, like most such stones, in an upright position. Subsequently the width of the church was increased by the re-erection of the southern wall some feet out from the original position, thus bringing the two graves within the church, and the stones were laid in an horizontal position as paving stones.

Alderman Cotterell immediately communicated with James Bonwick, who repaired to Bath to investigate the discovery for himself on November 27 in company with Alderman Cotterell, Alderman Simpson (Mayor of Bath), and General Denshaw (Churchwarden). Two days later Bonwick cabled the news to the New South Wales Government, and Cotterell received letters of thanks from the Governor of New South Wales (Viscount Hampden) and the Premier (Mr George H. Reid).

TABLET IN BENNETT STREET, BATH.

Up to this date there had been no public memorial in England to Phillip, but in 1899 the Bath Corporation attached a metal mural tablet to his residence at 19 Bennett Street. The wording was simple :—

Here lived
Admiral Phillip
1806-1814.

The design was copied by Mr and Mrs A. G. Foster when they provided the Phillip tablet at Camp Cove in Port Jackson.

I saw the Bath tablet in 1950, but was unable to enter the house, because it had been converted into tenements or flats. During the second World War it narrowly escaped destruction when an enemy bomb destroyed the architecturally beautiful Assembly Hall on the opposite side of Bennett Street, a few allotments lower.

The investigations initiated by Bonwick constituted a sort of historical resurrection of Phillip. I visited both Bennett Street, the Bathampton Church as well as Bath Abbey. At the entrance to the Bathampton Church is a notice for the benefit of overseas visitors. It reads thus :

AUSTRALIAN VISITORS.—The grave of Governor Phillip is in the floor of the aisle just inside the South Porch. You may remove the matting, if you will please replace it.

Other memorials now inside the Church are a picture of Phillip's hoisting of the flag at Sydney Cove and his portrait copied from the original in the National Portrait Gallery, London. At the rear of the Church is a tablet provided by Phillip's widow, worded thus :—

Near this tablet are the remains of Arthur Phillip Esq., Admiral of the Blue, First Governor and Founder of the Colony of New South Wales, who died the 31st August 1814 in the 76th year of his age.

A picture of Sydney Cove as it was in Phillip's time was sent to the Church by the Royal Australian Historical Society.

Annual Phillip ceremonies have been held at Bathampton and at Bennett Street. On June 3, 1937, Viscount Wakefield, of London, unveiled a tablet in the Abbey, and then proceeded to lay a wreath on the Phillip stone at Bathampton. More recently, Hon. J. M. Tully, Agent-General for New South Wales, placed a wreath on the Phillip tablet in Bennett Street.

TABLET IN BATH ABBEY.

The Phillip tablet in Bath Abbey was suggested in the first instance by Douglas Hope Johnston in a letter to the *Bath Chronicle* in August, 1932. It was subscribed for by 150 citizens and unveiled by Viscount Wakefield, when Mrs Bruce Marriott (well known as an Australian historian, Miss Ida Lee), an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Australian Historical Society, provided a wreath on behalf of the Society. The wording on the tablet is as follows :

In Memory of Admiral Arthur Phillip, R.N., Founder and First Governor of Australia. Born in London 11th October 1738. Entered the Royal Navy 1855. Died at 19 Bennett Street, Bath, 31st August, 1814.

To his indomitable courage, prophetic vision, forbearance, faith, inspiration and wisdom, was due the success of the first settlement in Australia at Sydney, 26 January 1788.

"The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof" (1 Corinthians x., 26).

The service connected with the unveiling was conducted by Archdeacon Thicknesse, and the lesson was read by Rev. Arthur Phillip Lancefield, a great-grand-nephew of the Governor. Admiral Sturge Cotterell's activity was largely responsible for the provision of the memorial.

Thus, though Bath citizens from 1814 to 1897 seemed unaware of Phillip's association with their own city and the foundation of New South Wales, they have paid full recompense with the tablet and pictures in the Church, the plaque at the Bennett Street residence, the memorial in Bath Abbey, annual pilgrimages of the civic fathers and other dignitaries to Bennett Street, and annual services at Bathampton.

PHILLIP'S BIRTHPLACE.

Why was Viscount Wakefield invited to perform the ceremony at Bath Abbey in 1937? I hazard the answer that it was because he had displayed so much active interest in the Phillip Commemoration in London five years earlier. He, in his turn, gave full credit to D. Hope Johnston for his initiation of the movement which led to that commemoration. Hope Johnston, while resident in Sydney, had effected the foundation of the Australasian Pioneers' Club, and was a founder of the Manly Historical Society. He claimed direct descent from Lieutenant George Johnston of the First Fleet. As a resident of London, he was intent on making Londoners aware of their indebtedness to Phillip for the establishment of a "new Britannia in a southern world." He found that Australia's first Governor was quite forgotten—unhonoured and unsung—even in the Ward of Bread Street,¹ where he had first

¹ Bread Street was so named because in 1302, during the reign of Edward I., a decree required bakers to sell their bread at the market in that street.

seen the light of day. Johnston took steps to overcome this oblivion. He interviewed Sir Granville Ryrie, then High Commissioner for Australia, and then the Lord Mayor of London, who was made aware for the first time of the significance of Bread Street as Governor Phillip's birthplace, within 200 yards of Bowbells. Johnston's next contact was with the City Architect and Surveyor of the City of London (Mr Perks), and this led to a search for documentary evidence of Phillip's birth in that vicinity. Search was carried out in the five or six churches in or near Bread Street, which is but a short, narrow street connecting Cheapside and Queen Victoria Street, and intercepting Cannon Street and the historic Watling Street constructed in Roman times.

In the Harleian Society's Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths, the name of Jacob Phillip was discovered. Jacob was the father of Arthur Phillip, who, it was then learnt, had been baptized by Rev. William Warneford in All Hallows' Church, Bread Street, one of the eighty-nine churches of London destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. It was finally demolished in 1876, and its parish registers were removed to St Mary le Bow (Bowbells). Those born within the sound of Bowbells are real Cockneys; and Phillip, it might be said, was born within the shadow of the steeple itself.

Johnston came across the All Hallows' Register, and there read the simple but historic entry under date November 11, 1738 :—

Arthur, son of Jacob and Elizabeth Phillip, was baptized.
Born October 11th.

This record, the only kind of church record of that period, had the function of a birth certificate of later periods. Though the registration of baptism was introduced in 1538 by the Vicar-General, Thomas Cromwell, it was not till 1836, i.e., three centuries later, that a general registration was established at Somerset House under a Registrar-General.

Phillip's father, Jacob, was a poorly clad teacher of languages from Frankfurt. His English wife, Elizabeth, was widow of a Captain Herbert, R.N., and her maiden name was Breach.

BREAD STREET MEMORIAL.

Hope Johnston first suggested a memorial in the porch of St Mary le Bow, facing Cheapside, and a second memorial in Bread Street. Eventually it was decided to place one in front of St Mildred's Church in Bread Street. This church was the last of the buildings existing at the time of Phillip's birth in that street to disappear, as it was not till a German bomb hit it in 1941 that it was destroyed.

On February 22, 1932, the Rector of St Mildred's, Rev. Richardson Eyre, communicated to Hope Johnston his approval of a Phillip Memorial in front of his church, expressing his sanction in the following appropriate fashion :—

The church would then be linked up with living Australia, and be a living spiritual meeting place for Australians and ourselves, where the Divine Hand in the growth of our still stately and wonderful Empire of the Dominions across the seas would be reverently and gratefully acknowledged.

A month later (March 22, 1932) Viscount Wakefield wrote to Hope Johnston, stating :—

It will give me pleasure to act on your suggestion and bear the cost of the memorial to him [i.e., to Phillip].

This memorial was thus the gift of Viscount Wakefield of Hythe, who was the Alderman of the Ward of Bread Street. It stood 16 feet in height and 12 feet in width on a base 6 feet by 4 feet, and weighed one ton and three-quarters. The Prime Minister of Australia, Mr J. A. Lyons, evinced interest, and requested the High Commissioner for Australia, Mr Stanley Bruce (later Lord Bruce) to invite a member of the Royal Family to perform the unveiling ceremony.

Accordingly the memorial was unveiled by H.R.H. Prince George, Duke of Kent, on December 7, 1932. A procession was organized with the Lord Mayor of London, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Members of the Ward of Bread Street, the Australian Minister in London, other Dominion Ministers, and special representatives from overseas. The Lord Mayor accepted the memorial on behalf of the citizens at Viscount Wakefield's invitation, and Prince George then unveiled it. Amongst the wreaths was one laid by Miss Ida Lee as the representative of the Royal Australian Historical Society, the President (O. E. Friend) of which sent the cable :—

Royal Australian Historical Society congratulates Lord Wakefield for providing splendid memorial so closely linking England with Australia.

Mrs Hope Johnston provided another wreath as the representative of the Women's Pioneer Society, Sydney.

The wording on the tablet was but slightly different from that subsequently inscribed at Bath Abbey. It read thus :—

In Honour of Admiral Arthur Phillip, R.N., Citizen of London, and First Governor of Australia, born in the Ward of Bread Street 11th October 1738; entered the Royal Navy 1755, and died 31st August 1814.

To his indomitable courage, prophetic vision, forbearance, faith, inspiration and wisdom, was due the success of the first settlement in Australia at Sydney on Saturday, 26th January, 1788.

"The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." (1 Corinthians x., 26.)

The reader will observe that the wording at Bath was copied from the Bread Street tablet.

On another face of the memorial is the following wording :—

This memorial to a great Londoner, due to the inspiration of Douglas Hope Johnston, M.A., a great grandson of Lieut.-Colonel George Johnston, A.D.C. to Governor Phillip 1788-92, was erected by Charles Cheers Baron Wakefield of Hythe, C.B.E., LL.D., Alderman of the Ward of Bread Street, Lord Mayor of London 1915-16, and presented by him to the citizens of London and the people of Australia, as an enduring link between the Motherland and her children in the great Island Continent of Australia.

"So long as blood endures,
I shall know your good is mine,
Ye shall know that my strength is yours."

—Kipling.

Holy Writ declares that "All is vanity and vexation of spirit." Alas for St Mildred's Church ! This church, one of London's smallest churches, dated back to the 12th century, and was dedicated to a Saxon Princess, Mildred, the daughter of Merwalden, a Prince of West Mercia. The church was destroyed in 1666, and, when it was rebuilt in 1683, Sir Christopher Wren, the architect, included a dome for the ceiling, as a guide, it was said, to the subsequent planning of St Paul's Cathedral. The church carvings were attributed to the renowned carver-in-wood, Grinling Gibbons. In this church the poet

Shelley was married to his second wife; and John Milton's birth in Bread Street was also registered. A stained-glass window to the memory of the men of the Ward who fell in the First World War was presented by Viscount Wakefield.

In the tragic bombing raid of April 16 and 17, 1941, the church was so completely wrecked that only the bare shell of the tower was left standing. The Phillip Memorial was destroyed, except that the bust of Governor Phillip remained almost entirely undamaged.

The association of the church with Australian sentiment was kept alive by means of annual gatherings, one of which the Primate of Australia, Most Rev. Dr H. W. K. Mowll, M.A., attended. In 1936, the retired Governor of South Australia, Sir Archibald Weigall, delivered an appropriate address, from which the following extract is quoted :—

For those privileged to belong to it, our Empire is a partnership in sentiment, in memories, in ideals, and in habits of life—a soul housed in a mighty frame. The achievement of unity amongst the peoples of our Empire to-day demands personal devotion and faith, almost a religion, to give purpose to our lives if we mean what we say on these matters. This does not mean a displacement of our Christian faith by an Imperial paganism. It means that we must link ourselves together for practical purposes, for duties and for sympathies amongst those who are scattered over the Seven Seas in the British Empire.

NOTE.—Due to the activity of Mr P. W. Gledhill, two stones from the ruins of St Mildred's Church were brought to Sydney. One was embedded in the wall of All Saints' Church of England, Balgowlah, on March 22, 1953, by the High Commissioner for England, and the second in the wall of St Peter's Church, Cook's River, on May 10, 1953, by His Grace the Archbishop of Sydney, the Most Rev. H. W. K. Mowll, M.A. At the conclusion of the Divine Service on each occasion, a lantern lecture on "The Récognition of Governor Phillip in England," illustrated with lantern slides, was delivered by the President (K. R. Cramp) of the Royal Australian Historical Society.

First Royal Visit to Australia.

Dundas Church Recalls Shooting Affray.

By G. A. KING, Member of Council.

Next year's visit to Australia of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh may remind the curious and the historically-minded that in the little Methodist Church at Dundas, near Sydney, there is a commemoration in stone of the first Royal visit to Sydney 85 years ago.

Queen Elizabeth will be the first reigning Sovereign to visit Australia.

Designs in stone of the Prince of Wales' feathers surmount the main building and the porch of the church at Dundas.

Behind the story of the decorations is an association with the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh at Clontarf, Middle Harbour, on March 12, 1868.

The Royal Duke, known also as Prince Alfred, was the second son of Queen Victoria, and brother of Prince Edward, afterwards Prince of Wales and, later, King Edward VII. The Duke of Edinburgh came to Australia in command of H.M.S. *Galatea*, and, while he was at the Sailors' Home picnic at Clontarf held in his honour he was shot in the back by a man named O'Farrell. The wound was not serious, but the attempt on the Duke's life aroused great indignation and sympathy. O'Farrell was tried on March 30 and 31, and, having been found guilty of the shooting, was executed at Darlinghurst Gaol on April 21 —less than six weeks after the crime was committed.

The little church at Dundas had not long been completed when the attempt on the Royal visitor's life was made. Soon after the incident, Mr John Mills, a local preacher of ability, preached an eloquent sermon of thanksgiving from the text, "In everything give thanks." The theme was an expression of thanks to God for the preservation of the Queen's son from the hand of the would-be assassin.

A copy of the manuscript of the sermon was sent to London, and was read by the Duke's brother, then Prince of Wales. The Prince, appreciating the sermon, sent £25 to be spent on the church in which the sermon was preached.

The church trustees decided to spend part of the gift in placing stones, in the shape of the Prince of Wales' feathers, on the building, making "a permanent memorial of a brother's gratitude, and of a faithful preacher," as is stated in the history of the church.

Notes and Queries.

By JAMES JERVIS, A.S.T.C. (Fellow),
Honorary Research Secretary.

Question : Information is desired on the work of convict clearing-gangs in the 1820's.

Answer : The clearing-gang system was established by Governor Brisbane soon after he assumed control of the administration. On August 30, 1822, he wrote in a despatch¹ to the Eary of Buchan :—

No human being can or ought to hazard an opinion as to the resources of this vast Country, which will duly unfold itself in the proportion of the exertions employed in calling forth these resources, which has been my main object since I assumed the reins of Government : and in order to accomplish the first process towards improvement I have a Thousand men employed in clearing the Country of the excess of its Forest timber and Brushwood. These men fell at least an acre a week each, and therefore your l'dp will perceive a vast extent of Country will be laid open; and this clearing system is carried out by the Government in behalf of the settlers by means of the Convict labourers, on the settler paying for each acre, so cleared and stumped, five Bushels of Wheat out of his first crop into his Majesty's Stores; and by what means the advantage to all these parties are so nicely combined as to render them mutually beneficial to all concerned.

In 1823, Brisbane reported that over 700 men were employed in this way. For totally clearing land settlers had to pay seven bushels per acre; for stumping only, three bushels; and for burning off, three bushels. Each gang appears to have consisted of twenty-two men, and they had to erect huts for themselves prior to commencing work on a property.

A further report from Brisbane, dated July 23, 1824, states that land cleared in the colony up to 1820 was 54,898 acres, whereas in the two years during which the clearing-gang system was in operation 11,503 acres had been cleared. Fifty clearing parties were at work, consisting of 1,150 men. From a despatch dated June 3,

¹ *Historical Records of Australia*, Vol. X., p. 723.

1825, it is learned that between March, 1822, and April, 1825, 20,031 acres had been cleared.

Each gang was allowed the ordinary ration, and, in addition, was entitled to $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. tea, 6 lbs. of sugar, and 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. of tobacco for each acre cleared; this was an incentive payment.

The clearing-gangs made a useful contribution to the development of settlement in the County of Cumberland. Brisbane claimed that the system was appreciated by the land-owners, and that it reduced crime amongst the convict population.

* * * * *

Question : Were any attempts made in the early history of the colony to regulate the entrance, or movements, of foreigners ?

Answer : Governor King issued the following "Government and General Order" on November 28, 1803 :—

It is clearly to be understood that foreigners, not being His Majesty's subjects, leaving their ship and residing here without the Governor's previous permission, are subject to be put to public labour until an opportunity offers for their leaving the colony, or being sent away in the same manner as British subjects who leave their ship without the Governor's permission.

A second Order was issued on August 11, 1804 :—

His Excellency also strictly forbids any person not a natural born subject of His Majesty being engaged to reside or settle in this Territory or its Dependencies without a previous permission obtained from the Governor, Lieut.-Governor, or Officer in Command for the time being.

It might be mentioned that these Orders were issued after the news of the declaration of war between Great Britain and France reached Sydney in November, 1803.

NOTES.

(1) The following news item from the *Sydney Gazette* of December 3, 1831, refers to the production of wine west of the Blue Mountains :—

BATHURST WINE : We have received a sample of the first wine made to the westward of the Blue Mountains. It was extracted from the sweet-water grape, grown in Mr. Hawkins' garden at Blackdown, and considering it is a first attempt and that that species of grape is the least suited of any for the making of wine, we think the experiment a very encouraging one. It is of the character of the light French wines. We shall place the bottle in our Advertisement Office where the curious will be welcome to taste for themselves. Thus we are creeping towards those halcyon days when Australian

hearts will be cheered with the sparkling produce of their own vintage.

(2) The daily bath is a modern habit. The people of the 19th century do not seem to have believed that "cleanliness is next to godliness."

The advertisement from the *Sydney Gazette* of June 16, 1825, is of interest in this respect :—

Wm. Cummings of the Sydney Hotel had added to his Accommodations a Desideratum much wanted, namely a BATH capable of being used either hot or cold at pleasure.

To Persons requiring such a stimulus to health, little need be said, particularly when they find every attention afforded for their comfort, as it regards the necessary accompaniments attendant upon private bathing.

The Bath has been exhibited to a most respectable Medical Gentleman who has highly approved of it. . . .

For a Hot Bath, 5/-.

Cold 3/6.

Should a Hot or Cold Bath of Sea-Water be required, by giving due notice, it will be provided without extra charge.

Captain James Cook.

Memorial Unveiled at Norfolk Island.

By C. PRICE CONIGRAVE (Fellow).

Early in 1939 the late Captain J. D. McComish, F.R.G.S., who until his death during 1948 was a valued member of the Royal Australian Historical Society, and his wife became greatly interested in many of the places in the Pacific area discovered by Captain James Cook, and which they themselves visited during their extensive travels. Captain McComish thought it very desirable and fitting that Cook's discovery of what he called "Norfolk Isle" on October 10, 1774, should be commemorated.

Captain and Mrs McComish resided on Norfolk Island for some time, and during their stay there interested the local residents in the idea of a memorial. An Island Trust Fund was established, and a sum of upwards of £20 was subscribed by the Islanders.

Later on the Royal Australian Historical Society donated the sum of £10/10/- towards the memorial, and through the personal interest and enthusiasm of the Hon. the Minister for Territories, the Hon. Paul Hasluck, M.P.,

the Federal Government undertook to amplify the amount in hand by a sufficiently large sum to cover the cost of the erection of a handsome stone obelisk bearing a bronze memorial tablet.

The obelisk overlooks Duncombe Bay, Norfolk Island, and the tablet affixed to it reads as follows :—

Captain James Cook, R.N.
On his second voyage around the World
Discovered and Named this Island
"Norfolk Isle"
Landing in the vicinity of this Point
On October 10th, 1774.
R.A.H.S.

The ceremony of unveiling the memorial took place on July 24, 1953, the Government having extended the compliment to Mrs Ida McComish, F.R.G.S., by inviting her to carry out that task.

Brigadier H. B. Norman, D.S.O., M.C., Administrator of Norfolk Island, presided, and during the course of his remarks said that Norfolk Island was especially honoured in that the widow of a man who had striven hard towards such a fine memorial should have been asked to unveil the permanent memorial to a great man in such a historic spot.

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Part V.

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A Fleet of Hulks.

By R. W. GLASSFORD.

(Read before the Society, March 31, 1953.)

If I say, as I emphatically do, that, despite our dependence on wool and wheat, we are a maritime race, I do not intend to convey that we are necessarily all ship-lovers or seamen, but simply that throughout the Commonwealth of Australia, and living as the majority do around our coastline, the average person takes some sort of interest in the comings and goings of seaborne traffic, whether it be in the form of a great passenger liner or small tramp, straining tug or even a lowly hulk. This is a point of interest, in that hulks, no matter how bedraggled, barnacle-encrusted or time-worn, provided they have some mark of connexion with an earlier glory, carry with them a proud and romantic dignity which their up-to-date sisters cannot claim. Which of us has not, at some time or another, caught the spirit of that great painting of J. M. W. Turner in the National Gallery, London, *The Fighting Temeraire* —the old line-of-battle ship, her achievements a memory, her hull worm-eaten, and her upper yards long ago sent down, being towed up the Thames to the breaking-up yards ? Clarkson Stansfield and Turner were going to Greenwich by water when they saw it, and it was Stansfield who said, “There’s a picture for you, Turner !” and Turner could not take his eyes from them until tug and hulk were out of sight. He went home and produced his masterpiece.

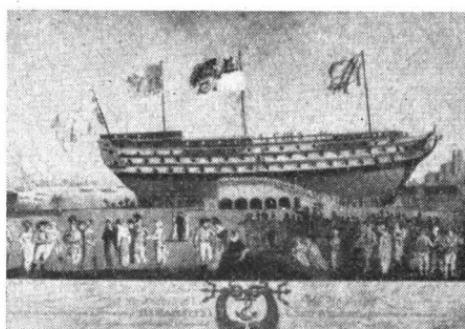
Inevitably, in a survey of this nature, some vessels deserving of mention will escape it, as time will only permit mention of those of real significance in our maritime progress, and—one final word of preface—I am going to

speak of ex-sailing ships only, and not at all of steamers—although several of the latter of historic importance did, in fact, find a last rest hulking in Australian ports. There have been many hulks, of course, in Australian ports from about the 1830's onwards, but in most of the earlier cases their identities and histories are completely lost and their ultimate fates unrecorded.

It may be interesting at this point to consider the uses to which these old vessels were put in Australia. Several were employed as prison and powder hulks, and some as lighters for one purpose or another—lightering wool from Geelong to Melbourne is one example of this which has survived until the present time. Others went for grain stores and grain-mill ships, but by far the largest number became coal hulks, both for the purpose of storing the coal and also of bunkering the steamers which had outrun them in the race of progress. The States which produce no steaming coal of their own suitable for firing marine boilers were those which had the greatest number of coal hulks, namely, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia.

And now let us consider the ships themselves.

H.M.S. NELSON.



Launching of H.M.S. "Nelson."

—(By courtesy of Mitchell Library, Sydney.)

The first of a number of *Nelsons*, she was launched from Woolwich Dockyard on the Thames on June 20, 1814, having been under construction on and off since 1805. Her launching was an occasion for full naval honours and one of the most distinguished assemblies seen in Woolwich in those troubled times. The programme set out that :—

This beautiful ship was built in His Majesty's Dockyard at Woolwich and is to be launched from thence on Monday, June 20th, 1814. She is the largest ship in England and far excels the *Queen Charlotte* which was supposed to be the finest vessel ever built on the River Thames. . . .

This superb and stupendous ship having excited such admiration, the Prince Regent, part of the Royal Family, the Emperor Alexander, Field Marshal Blucher, General Count Platoff, the King of Prussia and other distinguished characters and most of the Nobility and Gentry will honour the dock with their company.

Despite the pomp of *Nelson's* launching, her career was undistinguished to a degree. Her two claims to fame are that when launched as a 120-gun three-decker she was the largest vessel ever built in England; and, secondly, she was the first of that long and proud procession of Admiralty gift ships to Australia. Once completed, *Nelson* was laid up in "ordinary" for forty years, until the outbreak of war with Russia in 1854 brought her out of retirement, and she was towed round to Portsmouth, dry-docked, lengthened, fitted with a screw propeller and indifferent steam-driven machinery, and pushed back into obscurity as an "ordinary." This came about with the cessation of hostilities with Russia, but in any case the sailing warship was rapidly becoming an anachronism—the Battle of Lissa, fought only twelve years later, being the very last occasion on which sailing ships of war joined battle. On February 7, 1867, she was ordered to Victoria as a "boys' training ship," her refitting to the tune of £42,000 being debited to the Colonial Government of Victoria. The Victorian colonists were inordinately proud of this huge relic of Trafalgar days swinging at anchor off the beach at Port Melbourne and suffering frequent reduction in hull and sparring until she was transformed from a 72-gun two-decker to a single-deck training ship for the Naval Brigade. She was too cumbersome, however, and her upkeep too expensive, and, though a useful vessel for the purpose for which she was used, she was finally sold. On May 21, 1898, the old ship, now utterly worn out aloft, wallowed into Sydney in the wake of the tug *Eagle* and was berthed in Kerosene Bay, where she was cut down to her line of ports. The oak timber from her topsides became the drogher *Oceanic* (her new owners were the Oceanic S.S. Co.), while the remains of her original hulk remained under the name *Nelson*. The Union S.S. Co. of N.Z. Ltd.

purchased her in 1908, and, requiring her at Hobart as a coal hulk, arranged for their *Kakapo* to tow her down. They met bad weather, and eventually reached Low Head on July 25, 1908, seven days out, but unharmed. *Nelson* was further broken up on the Derwent and the remains finally blown up in Shag Bay, where some relics of her are still to be seen. Her enormous figurehead of the Victor of Trafalgar stands at the gates of the Ruscutter Bay Naval Depot in Sydney, together with her wheel and helm indicator.

H.M.A.S. *PENGUIN*.

In 1876 the Port of Glasgow gave welcome to a new screw sloop which took the waters of the Clyde in that year and was destined to make history in this country. Her name was *Penguin*, and she was classed as an unprotected screw sloop of 1130 tons. As originally designed, she mounted some 6" armament, and subsequently even 7". She was twice in the South-West Pacific and Indian Oceans before being transferred here permanently—from 1877 to 1881, and again from 1886 to 1889. In 1890 she was appointed to the Australian Station as a surveying vessel, and established a record for depth sounding of 5155 fathoms, which I believe is the Aldrich Deep near the Kermadec Islands.

On January 1, 1909, *Penguin* was commissioned as a unit of the new Australian Navy, and her first function was to act as depot receiving ship for the Australian Fleet then on its way out. After this duty, the Navy, having no further use for a "wooden wall," sold her to Penguin Pty. Ltd., shipbreakers and heavy lifting experts, who transformed the old sloop into a 20-ton lifting hulk. In her 77th year she is still employed as such on Sydney Harbour.

H.M.S. *ANSON*

was a 74-gun frigate, built of oak and employed by the Navy, until 1843, when she was converted to a transport at Sheerness at a cost of over £12,000. She was placed at the disposal of the Prisons Department, and sailed from Portsmouth for Van Diemen's Land on October 1, 1843, reaching Hobart Town on February 4, 1844, with 500 convicts—the largest single shipload to that date. There

she received 250 female prisoners, and was in continuous subsequent use as a prison hulk until 1850, when her prisoners were transferred to the Cascades Prison. Shortly after this she was surveyed by the Navy to ascertain whether she would be capable of further trading service, but was found to be in poor condition and requiring considerable expenditure on repairs. She was ultimately broken up in Prince of Wales Bay.

One authority says that a number of her beams were used in the construction of Ferguson's Building in Murray Street, Hobart, but I am unable to say whether this is actually so or not.

TASMANIAN EX-WHALERS.

It seems to be appropriate at this stage to refer to ex-whalers, as Hobart was the haunt and refuge of the whale-men. Indeed, the little island colony's first settlers came in the whaler *Albion*, which also carried the first Governor of Van Diemen's Land. She left Sydney in company with the famous *Lady Nelson* on August 31, 1803, but, being an indifferent sailor, did not arrive in the Derwent estuary until about five days after her naval consort. Her Commander, one Bunker, reported that the waters east of Tasmania were practically alive with whales, and Villiers records that on the way back from Hobart Town, and to prove his statement, he took three sperm whales "without looking." The following year the *Alexander* took three Right whales in the Derwent Estuary, and thereafter whalemen visited the southern colony in ever-increasing numbers. The peak of the whaling boom was reached in the early 1840's—in December, 1843, no less than 30 large deep sea whalers were sailing regularly out of Hobart, and by 1850 this had increased to 35. In the early days there was no need to fit out expensive ships to hunt the whale on the hight seas, as Black and Right whales were to be seen in dozens in the Derwent's bays and havens, and consequently bay-whaling, as it is generally called, was the order of the day. As may be imagined, the whale gradually became scarcer and scarcer in the Derwent, and as bay-whaling declined deep sea Sperm whaling took on an added importance. By the early 1860's the discovery of gold in Tasmania and a fall in the price of the oil put operative whalemen on the defensive, while the deep waters

of the Tasman were yielding less and less every day. As a consequence, the hunters had to go as far afield as the South American coast or the Behring Sea in search of the Sperm. It became the accepted thing for a whaling voyage to take a matter of a year and more rather than four or five months as it had been in the old days. One last short-lived boom in the 'seventies put the price of sperm oil up to about £120, but thereafter it fell, and with it the sail-driven Australian whaler. Some went over to general trading, some were broken up, and some ended their days as coal and powder hulks.

MARIE LAURÉ

was built at Mahé in the Seychelles Islands in 1840 of poon—a species of teak—and she sailed under the French flag, barque rigged, until 1850, when she was bought by British owners and put to trade between London and St Helena. She made her acquaintance with Australian waters in 1860 with a voyage from Mauritius to Hobart Town, sugar laden. Mr J. Johnstone bought her as a whaling barque, gave her a 3-inch sheathing of kauri as protection against ice, and, for the reasons just mentioned, sent her as far afield as the Antarctic ice and Behring Sea to hunt such whales as offered. One of *Marie Lauré's* most picturesque commanders was a half-caste Samoan, Captain "Black Billy" Smith, who could neither read nor write, but had a most acutely developed sense of position and direction. Without anything but the most primitive navigational apparatus, he would say to the Mate, for instance, "At four bells we should sight Lord Howe Island 2 points on the port bow," and sure enough at four bells there would be Lord Howe on the horizon a couple of points on the port bow. How he did it was a standing puzzle to all orthodox mariners, but this sense of position, time and direction is frequently found to be unusually developed in native people of Australasia and the South Sea Islands.

It was during the 'sixties that *Marie Lauré* had an interesting experience with a whale taken near Kangaroo Island, off the South Australian coast. The whale was hauled aboard and "cut in," but while the latter operation was in progress a harpoon was found embedded in the huge creature bearing the inscription, "*Barhope 1861.*" The *Barhope* was a New Bedford whaler. How many

thousands of miles the whale may have swum with this souvenir of a previous escape is a matter for the imagination.

This phase of her career lasted until 1886, when, with no profit left in whaling, *Marie Lauré* was put on the general cargo berth between New Zealand and Australia and between Hobart and Melbourne. Her sailing days were all but over, however, and in 1893 she was converted into a coal hulk on the Yarra, a calling which she followed until placed in service between Geelong and Melbourne as a wool lighter. While being reduced to a hulk it was discovered that her long high bowsprit was of rosewood and worth quite a sum in this country, while the rigger removing the main mast discovered beneath its heel a silver franc of 1835—to place a coin beneath the mainmast during building being the traditional method of procuring a vessel good luck and fair winds.

About ten years ago she was retired, badly hogged fore and aft, and soft, and has since been used as a carpenter's shop. She is the oldest Australian hulk.

The activities of the Tasmanian whale ships, the stories told of them, and anecdotes regarding the men who commanded and manned them, might fill whole volumes on their own account, but no reference here to historic hulks would be complete without mention of four of them :

*DERWENT HUNTER, ALADDIN, HELEN,
AND EMILY DOWNING.*

Although perhaps best known of all the Hobart Town whalers, *Derwent Hunter* was built in the United States in 1810 as the "North America" barque. Her first visit to Hobart appears to have been in 1859 for repairs before beginning what proved a thoroughly unsuccessful cruise in the Sea of Okhotsk. Working south, she took a large whale in the Tasman, but was damaged in a gale and put into Hobart once more to refit. In 1861 her whaling gear, including the boats, was sold, but no bid was forthcoming for the ship herself at first. Taken up eventually by the famous McGregor family, she was renamed *Derwent Hunter* and placed in the Trans-Tasman trade, and in 1863, the Maori War being under way, she did some trooping in New Zealand waters, but got ashore and was only refloated with difficulty. None the worse for this experience, the following year and again, 1865, found her in Puget Sound

loading timber for Hobart, but somewhere in the late 'sixties she was refitted for whaling, and in 1871 had a very successful voyage, taking 85 tons of oil in seven months. In 1879, however, her luck failed her; in 19 months she took only 20 tons—the result being that she was laid up in 1885 and rigged down. Moored across the end of the Shipyard Wharf at Hobart, she formed a sort of T-head for the jetty until 1907, when she was burned.

Aladdin, of 287 tons, had a very different beginning. She had been built as an English warship at Plymouth in 1825, and was launched under the name of *Mutine*. She was then a 10-gun brig, and was converted into a barque some twenty years later, when sold by the Imperial Government to Bennett and Company, whalers, of London. It was they who renamed her *Aladdin* and sent her a-whaling in the South Seas, but while she was on her way home Mr Bennett died, and his ships were sold. Thus it was that she came into the possession of Charles Seal, of Hobart, one of the greatest Australian whalers, who bought her in London for £500 to replace his wrecked *Marie Orr*. One of Seal's most trusted captains—J. S. McArthur—represented the whaler in the London negotiations, and took command of the new vessel for the voyage out to Hobart Town, where she arrived on January 17, 1847, 129 days out, and with 30 odd tons of oil to show for the voyage. Captain McArthur retained command for five years thereafter under Charles Seal's ownership. On the latter's death in 1852, *Aladdin* was one of six of the fleet retained by Mrs Seal, but in 1860 Captain McArthur bought her and sold her again four years later to the McGregor family, he himself remaining as master. She passed later to several other succeeding owners.

Aladdin arrived in the Derwent in April, 1885, for the last time, and was repurchased by the Imperial Government for use as a powder hulk, being disfigured with the word "GUNPOWDER" in five-foot capitals on each side. In 1902, utterly neglected and leaking badly, she was turned over to the breakers.

When *Aladdin* lay on the powder hulk moorings off Hobart's Domain she usually had a companion in idleness—the former *Emily Downing*, which had been built at Port Arthur by convict labour in 1841 as the *Lady Franklin*, named so after the Governor's wife. The barque was built

as a transport for stores and convicts to and from Norfolk Island, and in 1853 a shipload of convicts overpowered the crew and left the ship—the master, officers and crew being released by a cabin boy who had been left at large by the escapees. She eventually struggled back to Hobart, refitted and stored, and set out for Norfolk Island again, to find the garrison and convicts there very close to starvation as a result of her delay.

In 1855 F. A. Downing bought the ship and renamed her after his infant daughter, at the same time fitting her out as a whaler. In the early 'sixties the ubiquitous McGregors had her, but the price of oil was tumbling, and on February 26, 1885, *Emily Downing* arrived at Hobart on her last voyage and was converted to a hulk. Years of neglect thereafter took their toll, until the old ship was only good for the breaker's yard.

Speaking of the Domain hulks calls to mind a ship which had been owned by Ben Boyd in her palmy days, and is best remembered under the flag of that pioneer Hobart whaler, Dr W. L. Crowther—namely, the brig *Velocity*, of 140 tons. She had been built as a collier somewhere in the United Kingdom—in Devon, to be precise—in the 'thirties of last century, and came out to Sydney for Boyd in 1842. After whaling until 1877 she lay in complete and slothful idleness near the Domain until 1885, when, weary of the unequal struggle, she quietly sank at her moorings and was dynamited by the Marine Board to dispose of the wreck.

The 343-ton barque *Helen* was the last of the Hobart whalers. Built at Greenock on the Clyde in 1864, she was owned by Mr Alexander McGregor and placed in the Australia-China trade, and later on the berth for London. In 1894 she was fitted as a four-boat whale ship and had varying success, the fact of the matter being, of course, that she was actually too late for the trade, and in 1900 was converted back to a general trader. Shortly thereafter she was badly knocked about in a gale and staggered into Port Philip, with the pumps going continuously, only to be found not worth repairing, and therefore was sold for a coal hulk. She was later on used as a wool lighter, and in 1938 was towed to sea for disposal, sent adrift and grounded near Cape Schanck, where she broke up.

As the whaler-hulks were a link with the early colonial days in the south, so were the Blackwaller-hulks joined historically to Victorian England—solid, efficient and distinctly English. Indeed, the Blackwaller was the direct descendant of, and successor to, the East India Company in its numerous trades and interests. It will be recalled that the Company had entered the fields of trading, ship-owning and shipbuilding in most extensive fashion prior to 1814, when their Indian monopoly was abolished altogether. Their activities in China continued until 1833 and were then terminated, causing the company to sell as best they could many of the trading vessels which they had constructed in the preceding years. Many of these were extravagantly expensive to run and quite unsuitable for an owner in a competitive market. These were speedily broken up, but others, satisfactory to their new owners, saw years of service.

These owners, including several East India "ships' husbands," continued to build and operate ships patterned in a general way on the old East India vessels, but improved in hull-form and simplified aloft, resulting in a more economical sailing machine. Improvement followed upon improvement, and in 1837 George Green launched the *Seringapatam* of 818 tons, which represented a great advance in size and speed on her immediate predecessors and also established a new standard of comfort in cabin arrangement. *Seringapatam* is therefore generally regarded as the first of a new type, all connected with London River and called "Blackwall Frigates," after the Blackwall Yard at Poplar, site of the building of so many of these "London" ships. The new ships had little sheer and were inclined to look short and "tubby," but they were fine-lined below and fast sailers in the majority. They were magnificently built of teak planking on English oak frames, with large quarter-galleries (even the three iron Blackwallers—*Superb*, *Carlisle Castle* and *Macquarie*—had painted stern windows to adhere to the fashion and indicate their East India descent) and long, high-steeved jibbooms.

As to the operation of these ships, it must be remembered that, in the main, they were passenger carriers, and the comfort and consequently the goodwill of their patrons was more to be valued than shattered records. As a

result they were rarely driven, but on the few recorded occasions upon which they were pressed their speeds were remarkable.

Some of these ships were built at Blackwall on the Thames, but the capacity of that yard was limited, and quite a proportion of their total rose upon the launching ways of the Smiths, of Newcastle, and Pile & Laing, of Sunderland.

FORTUNA (EX-MACQUARIE).

On January 24, 1953, tenders were called for the purchase of a mechanical coaling hulk in Sydney Harbour named *Fortuna*, and about ten days later she was bought by T. Carr & Co. for breaking up. This work is being commenced at Pyrmont, where you may see the graceful black hull with a high powerful stern and clipper bow being gradually reduced. At her bows she has the name *Fortuna*, supplemented by some irreverent wit, *Leaping Lena* (no doubt after her lively antics when loading coal), while her stern still bears the pathetic remnants of the painted and gilded gallery of imitation windows.

Her active career began on Saturday, June 5, 1875, at the Blackwall Yard of Messrs R. and H. Green, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, including the Lord Bishop of Melbourne, Bishop Perry, Mrs Perry, Lady Cooper and her daughters, and many other notables—to say nothing of the fact that every vantage point around was crammed with spectators. Miss Ellen Cooper, a daughter of the well-known Sydney merchant, Sir Daniel Cooper, who had a quarter-share in the ship, christened her *Melbourne* and let go the trigger which sent the huge black hull sliding majestically into the Thames.

Her builders were also her owners, and on August 16, 1875, they despatched her from the East India Docks for Melbourne. While no record-breaker in the general sense, she was a steady-going, reliable ship of great strength—probably the strongest of the iron clippers—having incorporated in her much material originally stockpiled for a South American man-of-war, the order for which, it is said, was cancelled after a disagreement—she was ship-rigged, 269 feet in registered length, and originally 1857 tons. It is interesting to observe that her plans came from the board of Bernard Waymouth, sometime Secretary of Lloyd's

Register of Shipping, and designer also of those celebrated racing tea and wool clipper ships, *Thermopylae* and *Leander*. In 1876 she astonished the shipping world by averaging 300 miles a day for 17 consecutive days, the best run being 374 miles in one day—approximately 15½ knots—accomplished in the “Roaring ‘Forties’” running down her easting with half a gale behind her, when obviously her strength would stand her in good stead. An advertisement from the Melbourne *Argus* of the day is interesting :—

MESSRS. GREEN'S PASSENGER SHIPS.

BLACKWALL LINE OF PACKETS FOR LONDON DIRECT.

The attention of passengers is directed to the undermentioned HIGH CLASS clipper ships, so WELL and FAVOURABLY known for their SUPERIOR and COMFORTABLE accommodation, WELL KEPT TABLE and ATTENDANCE, SPEED and REGULARITY of passages.

Ship.	Commander.	Sails.
<i>Melbourne</i> (New)	R. Marsden	January 4
<i>Malabar</i>	G. A. Mackerness	In January
<i>Carlisle Castle</i>	Austin Cooper	Early in Feb.
<i>Superb</i>	E. S. Low	Early in March

For circulars, plans and particulars, apply to J. H. WHITE and Co., 40 William Street, north of Collins Street.

MESSRS. GREEN'S PASSENGER SHIPS.

BLACKWALL LINE OF PACKETS

For LONDON DIRECT.

The magnificent new passenger ship

M E L B O U R N E,

1857 tons (A1 at Lloyd's).

RICHARD MARSDEN (late of *Agamemnon*), Commander,
Will be despatched from the Sandridge Railway Pier
punctually on
TUESDAY, 4th JANUARY.

The *MELBOURNE* is a new vessel on her first voyage and is considered by nautical judges to be one of the finest sailing merchant ships afloat. She has been designed by Messrs. Green, of Blackwall, her owners and builders, with especial regard to the comfort, safety, and convenience of passengers, for whom the accommodation in all the classes cannot be surpassed.

The SALOON CABINS are of unusual size, well lighted and ventilated, admirably adapted for families, and are fitted with cabin furniture.

A milch cow is carried.

Ladies' and gentlemen's bathrooms are provided.

For the INTERMEDIATE passengers greatly improved cabins and fittings are provided.

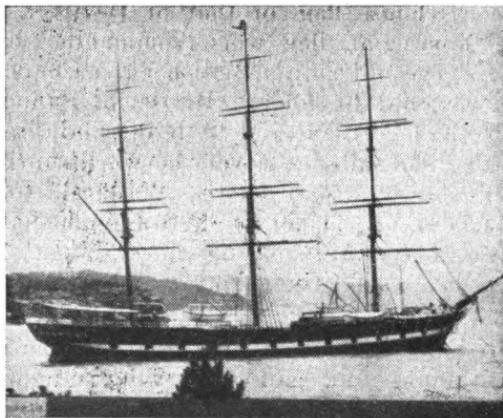
Passage money, £16 and upwards.

A surgeon accompanies the ship.

For circulars, plans, and all particulars apply to J. H. WHITE and Co., 49 William Street, north of Collins Street.

In order to cater for the passengers' wants, *Melbourne* carried on each voyage a considerable number of pigs, sheep, poultry and, of course, a milking cow, the latter being converted to fresh meat towards the end of the passage. The saloon scale of messing was considerably more extensive than in the lesser lines, and was on par with *Sobraon*, to which I shall refer shortly.

At no time was *Melbourne* a "hungry ship" to her crew; in fact, the same men used to come down voyage after voyage to the East India Docks to try for a berth in her or one of her consorts.



"Macquarie" in Neutral Bay.

—(Photo from the Glassford Collection.)

In 1887, after running regularly each year to Melbourne, the ship was bought by Messrs Devitt and Moore, who placed her on the berth for Sydney under one of the most celebrated commanders of that day—Captain William Goddard, who transferred from the *Parramatta* and who retained command until 1896, when he retired in Sydney as much admired as a seaman as he was beloved by all who had served under him. Upon her second

voyage to Sydney, Devitts decided upon a change of name and she assumed the name under which she is best known —*Macquarie*. She was a favourite from the very first, and the mere mention of her sighting off the Heads was enough to send groups of shiplovers to vantage points to see this proud and stately ship surging along in the tug's wake through the Heads and up the Harbour to Central Wharf. Her saloon accommodation was a great advance on all her sisters with the possible exception of *Sobraon* (which was almost in a class on her own), and the ship herself was most lavishly ornamented with gilding and scroll work.

In 1897 *Macquarie* replaced *Harbinger* as an ocean training ship under Lord Brassey's scheme, and about this time Captain F. W. Corner succeeded to the command and was at once a popular, respected and most successful Master. Indeed, I can call to mind no other British ship as fortunate in her captains as *Macquarie* was in hers under Green's house flag, or that of Devitt & Moore, or under the Norwegian flag when commanded by Captain Mikkelsen. The old ship's British career ended in 1904 when she was sold to Johann Bryde, of Sandefjord, for £4,500 (she had cost £46,750 to build and fit out), and under his flag she sailed all over the world until June 18, 1909, when she was sold to the Wallarah Coal Co. in Sydney Harbour for £3,550. She was immediately transformed into a coal-hulk, being fitted about 1920 with elevator-towers as a floating plant, which she has been ever since.

Battered, grimy and cut about as she was in the last few years, the old hulk could hardly be recognized as the last of the Blackwall frigates and the last deep sea sailing ship built on the Thames.

Of the other frigate-built ships hulked in this country, two are especially interesting, namely, *Tyburnia*, built at Glasgow in 1857 by Alexander Stephen & Sons for Joseph Somes, and *Vernon*, built in 1839 at the Blackwall Yard, London, for the same "Dicky" Green whose heir built *Macquarie* 36 years later.

TYBURNIA AND VERNON.

Tyburnia, which was registered as of 1021 tons, was the only first-class Clyde-built passenger ship trading out East and was of typical frigate build. This ship was built

of 12 and 14 years material and classed "14 years A1," but in 1882 she was reclassified "16 years A1." Her early career was spent in trooping to India in the 50's and 60's, carrying hundreds of coolies thence to Demerara on the voyage home. The years 1869-1873 saw her in the China trade under Captain Stephen, and in 1874 Captain Golder brought her out to Sydney.

Thereafter she remained in the Australian trade until 1883, and in the next year, having been reduced to a barque, she was chartered by the Pleasure Sailing Yacht Company for a cruise to "various parts of the world" at a fare of one guinea a head per day—the first ocean cruise of which we have record and forerunner of to-day's luxurious affairs. *Tyburnia* was under the command of Captain Juba Kennaley, a redoubtable mariner who was equal to almost any situation—he had successfully run the American blockade thirteen times, which was no small qualification. On arrival at Madeira he anchored *Tyburnia* near the Loo Battery in the quarantine ground, and loaded cement and other commodities which might yield profit later in the voyage. Finally he notified the authorities of his approaching departure. The Portuguese Customs applied what then was a common practice with them—extortion in the shape of export charges. When Kennaley refused to pay, they threatened to come aboard and confiscate the ship, to which the Captain made reply that any Portuguese official boarding him would be flung into the sea. The Military Governor then ordered the Loo Battery to fire on the ship if she moved, but Captain Kennaley consulted his passengers, who were aware of his reputation and had confidence in him. As a result, he weighed and stood out to sea under forecourse and topsails, firing two blank rounds as he did so in derision of the Governor. The Fort were in earnest, however, although their aim left much to be desired from a technical point, and the British passengers raised a great roar of cheering each time a ball passed harmlessly overhead or fell short into the water. The wind was fair and the good Kennaley made sail as he sped seawards, bound towards Barbadoes. Very minor damage to rigging was the only casualty in the action. The remainder of the cruise was a dismal failure, however, the monotony and confined space no doubt contributing to the frayed

tempers, which flared into violent quarrels. Kennaley gave up hope of trade at Barbadoes and loaded a cargo of sugar for New York, where the ship was detained on suspicion of smuggling. The wretched passengers slunk away home by steamer, and on return to England the old ship passed to C. W. Raynton in 1885, and to Burns, Philp & Co. a few years later. Burns, Philp used her as a lumber carrier, and then, her rigging being quite worn out, laid her up in Mosman Bay, Sydney, and called for tenders for repairs. After a time she sailed up to Townsville, still more or less unrepaired, and was converted into a transhipment hulk. She was broken up in 1891.

VERNON.

Vernon was of similar appearance to *Tyburnia*, but with a good deal more of the traditional East India apple-cheek design in her bows. Unlike her sister, *Owen Glendower*, which was very well and favourably known in the Melbourne trade, *Vernon* was given side paddles and auxiliary steam at first, but the results were very poor, and this paraphernalia was removed before long. She followed the general standard of accommodation for ships of her day and type, with an unusual height between decks and special provision for families. As a matter of interest, the following were Messrs Greens' advertised fares to London in her heyday :—

First cabin	Per agreement
Second cabin (including Steward's attendance)	£35
Third cabin (including Steward's attendance)	£18-£25

Vernon's career was more or less uneventful, and her performance reliable without being brilliant; her weatherly qualities were demonstrated when she passed through the great Bay of Bengal cyclone in 1843, not to mention other lesser adventures of a similar nature through her life. In 1867 she was sold to the New South Wales Government as a reformatory ship, receiving the first batch of erring youths on May 20, 1867, and thereafter they arrived in ones and twos, staying a statutory minimum of twelve months. The boys were not all of proved criminal tendencies—quite a proportion were neglected youths from homes which offered them no future at all; others were committed for juvenile crimes, and the remainder for serious offences. The ship was well run, and the fact

that her Commander, Captain Neitenstein, later Comptroller of Prisons in New South Wales, was able to report in 1885 that the demand for time-expired *Vernon* boys (particularly in country work) exceeded the numbers available for allocation, is indicative of the success of the system. Time wore on and the old *Vernon's* years were commencing to tell, despite the faithful workmanship which had gone into her hull. Sir Henry Parkes, with his genuine concern for young people even when under committal, was becoming worried over the frigate's condition and seaworthiness, and, without telling his Cabinet colleagues until the matter was all but finalized, he commenced casting about for a suitable ship to replace her. Indeed, he would only be satisfied with the finest wood or composite hull afloat, and this took his agent unerringly to Messrs Devitt & Moore, owners of the great composite clipper *Sobraon*. As we shall see shortly, she was eventually sold to the New South Wales Government, and after discharging her outward cargo in Melbourne in December, 1891, she came round to Sydney in ballast and was converted to be the State Reformatory ship. *Vernon* was then pensioned off and taken into Kerosene Bay to await developments, if any. In 1893 a Mr Rae purchased her for demolition and commenced work, but on the evening of May 29, while Mr Rae and six of his men were heaving her into shallow water for burning off (the cheapest method of recovering her copper fastenings), the old ship decided upon a better end for herself and burst into flame. It was no mere smouldering fire either, but a great roaring inferno which drew crowds from miles around. These were sufficiently awed by the spectacle as it stood, but sparks from the blazing *Vernon* soon descended on the old hulk *Golden South*¹ lying nearby with a quantity of coal aboard, and in no time at all she too was burning like a torch, the two lighting up the upper harbour almost like day. It transpired later that the windlass had proved immovable during the day, and a fire had been lit to burn it free which should have been extinguished when the men went ashore. Apparently this had not been done.

¹ *Golden South* had arrived at Maryborough, Queensland, on June 6, 1866, in a condition of doubtful seaworthiness. She was brought to Sydney and condemned in 1873, being turned into a coal hulk.

ST LAWRENCE.

The last vessel built for Messrs T. & W. Smith, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, was *St Lawrence*, of 1094 tons construction, in their own yard in 1861, and considered at the time to be a great advance on all previous wooden construction. Lubbock has told us that she was a fine, dry sea-boat, and a "beautiful ship in every way."² She spent all her early years in the Calcutta passenger trade, particularly with troops, but when the Suez Canal was opened Smiths forsook their sailing vessels and went in for steam.

St Lawrence passed into the hands of M. C. Cowlishaw, of Sydney, in February, 1886, a man who loved these windships and kept them in excellent order. He reduced her to barque rig and used her in the lumber trade between Puget Sound and Sydney for some years, until March, 1888, when she was sold to James R. Muirhead, of Onebygamba, Newcastle, New South Wales. *St Lawrence* was still owned by Mr Muirhead and commanded by Captain Pow when she sailed from Newcastle on February 18, 1889, for Fremantle. She met bad weather off the south coast of Western Australia, however, and put into Albany on March 26, having lost her main and mizzen masts. Her cargo was discharged at Albany by order of the surveyors, and the vessel remained at anchor in the harbour for some time as an idle hulk. She was eventually condemned and broken up.

MAIDA AND SUCCESS.

Duncan Dunbar, owner of the tragically wrecked *Dunbar* (Sydney Heads, August 20, 1857), before succeeding his father in 1825, made certain changes in the organization of the family shipping business and consolidated the company's position in the Australian and Eastern trades. He was closely associated with the firm of Devitt & Moore, for whose first principal, Thomas Henry Devitt, Dunbar had the greatest regard. Some of Dunbar's ships were loaded out for Australia by Devitts with general cargo, coming home again with the produce of this country, while others brought out immigrants, sailed in ballast or with cargo to China or India, going home again from there.

² *The Blackwall Frigates*, by Basil Lubbock.

In order to keep down capital outlay and still use first-class materials, Dunbar began to advocate building in India or Burma for the Eastern and Australian trades, although until the early 19th century ships so built were generally denied British registration. After the repeal of this law, however, he built the ship *Marion* in Calcutta in 1834, and in 1840 established his own shipyard at Moulmein in Burma. He called it the Howrah Yard after the city of Howrah, opposite Calcutta; the name must have had a happy association for him, because his great house in the East India Dock Road in London—now, I understand, a convent school—was called “Howrah House.” By 1853 Dunbar’s fleet, built both at home and in Burma, totalled some 40,000 tons—an immense figure for those times, when ships of over 1000 tons were a great rarity.

Dunbar named his ships after famous British battles, and in 1857 his Howrah Yard launched the *Maida*, of 520 tons, so named after the British victory at Maida in Southern Italy in 1806 against the French. The districts of Maida Vale, both in this country and in England, draw their name from the same inspiration. *Maida* was, of course, of the finest teak construction, and although owned by a Blackwall man and built in a yard famous for its frigate-built ships, she was not herself a true frigate. Her career was not especially remarkable, and upon Dunbar’s death in 1862 and the disposal of his fleet, she was sold with the rest. In the ’eighties we find her owned by Mr Daniel McGregor, of Brisbane, and in 1912 by the Chillagoe Railway and Mine Co. She was now a coal hulk, having been taken up by Mr W. R. Black, coal merchant, in that capacity. Her last job was as a coal storage hulk for Maedonald, Hamilton & Co., in Brisbane River until 1933 or 1934. During the following year she passed into the hands of Peters’ Slip, who broke her up, the remains being towed down to Bishop’s Island and burnt to secure the copper fastenings. The heavy teak keel is still visible on the mud at low tide.

Maida was not the only ship built at Moulmein to achieve notoriety in this country as a hulk, and it may be appropriate here to mention another—the so-called convict ship *Success* of 622 tons, built of teak in 1840 for

the United Kingdom—East Indies trade of Messrs Phillips, Shaw & Lowther, of the Exchange Buildings, London.

In 1849 and again in 1851 she carried emigrants to Australia (not convicts, mark you !), and on the second occasion was deserted by her crew, who, following the custom of the time, departed for the gold diggings to try their luck. In the following year the Victorian Government found their gaols overcrowded, a state of affairs not unrelated to the discovery of gold, and so bought four old ships, including *Success*, to relieve the pressure. She received her first quota of malcontents on June 27, 1853. In March, 1857, the head of the Victorian Prisons Department was murdered and the blame laid at the door of a gang of men who had served sentences in the hulks. The spotlight of publicity now dwelt on the hulk system, and eventually it was decided to discontinue it. Three of the ships were broken up, but the fourth—*Success*—for some reason unspecified, secured a reprieve. Her prisoners left her on New Year's Day, 1858, and after a period of disuse she became in succession a women's prison, a boys' reformatory and dormitory, and an explosives hulk, until the late 'seventies, when she was purchased by a shrewd speculator and fitted up as a gruesome reminder of the convict transportation system. This arrangement proceeded for some years, and in 1890 Harry Power, the ex-bushranger, joined her as showman and compere. In 1891 she set out for Sydney in tow of the tug *Eagle*, and arrived on November 6 of that year, being placed on exhibition at West Circular Quay. On June 18 following, while she was moored in Kerosene Bay in charge of a shipkeeper she sank at her moorings, but was raised six months later after another change of ownership—this time to Mr J. Neil on July 8. He announced his intention of sailing for London, but the Customs had other ideas and refused her a clearance on the grounds of unseaworthiness. Ultimately she sailed and reached London, where she remained on show for several years, and in 1912 sailed for New York, still equipped with leg-irons, cats-o'-nine tails, and all the other impedimenta of early prison life. In the due course of time her drawing-power waned, and in 1927 she set off up the Ohio River, only to be wrecked on an ice-floe while en route. A good deal of romantic nonsense has been written about *Success*'s prison days, but

in point of fact her exhibition was a gross exaggeration of the facts of her career, which was no more extensive than I have indicated.

SOBRAON.

In the mid-sixties of last century the Scottish firm of Lowther, Maxton & Co. ordered the first of a fleet of screw steamers to capture the cream of the tea trade with China, but, despite the long experience of the owners in this business, the project failed in its infancy, and the new ship named *Sobraon* (after the battle of 1846 in the Sutlej campaign) never saw Chinese waters. She was completed as a sailing ship of 2131 tons by Halls of Aberdeen, and proved to be one of the fastest ever launched. In addition, she was one of the most popular, both with the passengers and crew, and many of each made voyage after voyage in her. When Halls launched her in November, 1866, she was the largest composite ship ever built—a record which was never surpassed; her iron beams and frames were clothed in teak, she was copper-fastened and classed "16 years A1," and with all sails set she spread two acres of canvas! Her first five voyages were to Sydney, and then from 1872 to 1891 to Melbourne, returning via the Cape of Good Hope and St Helena, this being the more comfortable route for passengers. Despite the fact that her owners would never allow their passenger ships to be driven, she was in the very forefront of the clippers and a worthy rival for the Aberdeen flyers and the London ships. Lowther, Maxtons only ran this vessel for a short time and then sold her in 1870 to Devitt & Moore, who had loaded her from the first. Her best known Commander—in fact, with the exception of her first voyage, her only one—was J. A. Elmslie, R.N.R., who had served in *La Hogue* and *Parramatta* on the Australian run, and had commanded the ill-fated *Cospatrick* from 1863 to 1867, being succeeded by his brother, who was lost in the disaster to that ship in 1873. In the twenty-four years he had *Sobraon*, Captain Elmslie did not have one serious accident, nor indeed any loss of spars or sails worth speaking of. During her career, *Sobraon* carried three Governors of New South Wales ((commencing with the Earl and Countess of Belmore on her second voyage), a Governor

of Queensland, and a Governor of Tasmania; and during the Duke of Edinburgh's visit in 1868, and on account of her fine appointments, *Sobraon* was taken up as flagship of the Regatta at the special request of His Royal Highness. *Sobraon* was one of the pioneers of the new era in ship furnishing when something more than the bare necessities were to be provided. Bedding and cabin furniture were provided for saloon passengers—an almost unheard of refinement at that date—and in port the saloons were carpeted, furnished with easy chairs, and decorated with aspidistras and pictures. In heavy weather at sea these refinements were lashed or stowed away—a most necessary precaution.

As to the passengers' fare, this saloon menu for Christmas Day, 1890, in latitutde 42° 46' S., longitude 105° 32' E., makes interesting reading :—

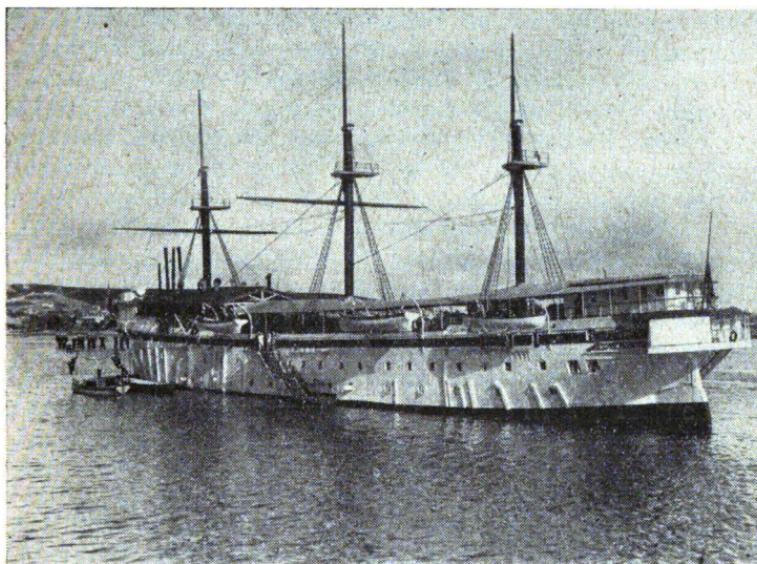
"SOBRAON"
MENU
DECEMBER 25th, 1890
DINNER

Soup — Mock Turtle
Mutton Cutlets a la Reform
Stewed Oysters
Curried Prawns
Oxford Sausages & mashed potatoes
Jugged Hare and jelly
Cutlets a la Prince de Galles
Curried Eggs
Roast Duck (stuffed)
Boiled Fowl and bread sauce
Braised Ham and sauce piquante
Roast Haunch, Mutton and jelly
Corned leg of Pork and peas — Pudg.
Green Peas — French Beans
Mashed and baked potatoes
Plum pudding
Mince Pies
Gooseberry meringue
Trifles — Jellies.

This was only slightly more extensive than the regular Sunday menu. In order to provide so elaborate a menu in the saloon and a scale of messing in the second-class better than that offered by most other ships, *Sobraon* carried a regular farmyard, 3 bullocks, 90 sheep, 50 pigs, 3 milking cows and 300 head of poultry being the tally for her last outward passage.

I have already mentioned that Sir Henry Parkes was looking around for a suitable successor to *Vernon* as the Nautical School Ship at Sydney, and the negotiations for the sale of *Sobraon* were all but concluded when she arrived at Melbourne on January 4, 1891.

Having discharged her outward cargo and disembarked her passengers, *Sobraon* left Hobson's Bay in tow



"*Sobraon*" in Rose Bay.

—(Photo from the Glassford Collection.)

of the tug *Eagle* on February 7, 1891, for Sydney, with some wheat as cargo and stone as ballast. The New South Wales Government had paid Devitt & Moore £11,500 for the ship, and they now spent an additional £30,000 converting her for her new job, in which she served for twenty years, being moored in the Upper Harbour near Cockatoo Island, but with changes in the organization of the State institutions and system of dealing with juvenile offenders and "strays" generally she became surplus to requirements, and was sold to the Royal Australian Navy for £15,000 as a boys' training ship. In this capacity she was a familiar sight, renamed H.M.A.S. *Tingira*, in Rose Bay, until August, 1927, when she was towed away to Garden Island for dismantling. It was a time of re-

trenchment and age was starting to tell on the old teak-ship's timbers, making the expense of refitting her unwarranted. In addition, the Navy had established shore training stations for their lower-deck entries, and eventually *Tingira* was sold to Mr W. M. Ford, the well-known boat builder of Berry's Bay—also a lover of the old square-riggers. For many years she lay a neglected hulk in Berry's Bay, where attempts were made to preserve her for the nation, but all fell through for one reason or another. That "grand old man" of Australian book-sellers, Mr James R. Tyrrell, in his recently published memoirs,³ tells of his attempt to secure the ship for a combined Parkes, Shiplovers' and Historical Museum with moorings at the Quay, but when all was arranged it proved impossible to go through with the plan.

Ultimately, Mr Ford died and his estate sold the hulk to a Mr Silvenen in March, 1935. He commenced dismantling her on March 17, 1936, in Berry's Bay, and by the early part of 1942 nothing was left beyond a piece of the massive keel. Even this has now disappeared.

The lion figurehead was removed by the Navy at Garden Island in 1927, and now stands somewhat the worse for wear and age in the grounds of Flinders Naval Depot in Victoria.

LARKINS.

The lovely harbour at Albany, Western Australia, has held many interesting vessels as coal hulks over the years, but none surpassed in interest the ship *Larkins*, which dropped anchor in Princess Royal Harbour in 1853, carrying 1000 tons of coal for the P. & O. Co. She was an old East Indiaman which had been built at the beginning of the 19th century, and in the meantime had spent her time in the Honourable Company's Eastern trade. By the time of her arrival in Albany, however, she was already on the last ring of the social scale, the P. & O. Co. having bought her for their coal hulk at the port—at that time the only port of call in the West—and their coal hulk she remained for another thirty years, after which she was pensioned off and gradually disintegrated. When the P. & O. mail steamer was signalled from Breaksea Island, *Larkins* would hoist their house flag and fire off a round

³ *Old Books, Old Friends, Old Sydney*—James R. Tyrrell : Angus & Robertson, 1952.

from her 12-pounder saluting cannon to the amazement and awe of the locals. The agent would then hoist the quartered flag in front of his office. Her figurehead and that of another old-timer, once owned by the P. & O. Co., viz., *Kingfisher*, are now the property of Mr H. C. Poole of Lower Kalgan.

WINDSOR CASTLE.

The two best passages home of the racing wool fleet of 1880 were those of the Aberdeen clippers *Aristides* (sailing from Melbourne) and *Windsor Castle* (from Sydney), both docking in London 79 days out—an excellent performance, as many of the noted flyers such as *The Tweed*, *Parramatta*, *Cimba* and *Sam Mendel* were relatively much further back. *Windsor Castle*, of 979 tons, was built by W. Duthie & Co. of Aberdeen, and launched on December 20, 1869, for Donaldson, Rose & Co. of Aberdeen. The ship was christened by Mrs Cargill, wife of Captain William Cargill, who superintended the building and was to be the ship's best known Commander. Incidentally, Mrs Cargill was a daughter of Captain Robert Troup Moodie of the Marine Board, Sydney.

This ship was a smart sailer, and, although not in any sense a flyer, such as was Green's ship of the same name, her passages were most creditable. Under Donaldson, Rose's flag, she was only once in any serious trouble, and that was when she collided with the French barque *Costa Rica* off the Isle of Wight on December 15, 1871. The latter sank like a stone, taking seventeen of her crew down with her, but in the subsequent inquiry Captain Cargill was completely exonerated of all suggestion of blame. Towards the late 'eighties Rose's sold the *Windsor Castle* to J. Rust & Son, of Footdee, Aberdeen. Captain Cargill had left *Windsor Castle* in 1874, and this grand old seaman died at his home in North Sydney on July 27, 1902. I believe the family is still represented in that district. *Windsor Castle* now forsook the wool trade for the more prosaic life of a timber carrier, and renamed *Lumberman's Lassie* and under the command of Captain J. Masson, she carried hardwoods from Australian and New Zealand ports to the United Kingdom. On September 9, 1890, she had a close call after leaving the Kaipara, when she ran into a full gale and was thrown on her beam ends. To make matters worse, she com-

menced leaking and was making water at the rate of two inches per hour in the hold, but owing to her stout construction she held on to her gear and struggled through it all as well. In April, 1895, with Captain J. Stewart in command, she loaded a cargo of ironbark logs at Hobart for London, but such a deadweight cargo was too much for the old ship, and as soon as it started to blow she opened her seams and leaked like a sieve. From near the Snares she made across to Sydney, was put into the Jubilee Dock on arrival, surveyed and condemned—a grand old ship, but utterly worn out with years of sailing with heavy cargoes. On July 5, 1895, she was put up for auction and sold to Mr Dan Sheehy of Sydney for £550. Her cargo was discharged and her gear dismantled, and she finished her days in Sydney Harbour as a coal store hulk for the Southern Coal Owners' Agency, who passed her to Mr Einerson of Balmain for breaking up soon after the 1914 war. I think it is rather interesting to note that many of *Windsor Castle's* hardwood cargoes for London eventually became paving blocks in London streets. In fact, the timber was almost all shipped in her for that very purpose. Her figurehead—an excellent three-quarter length figure of Her Majesty Queen Victoria—was discovered in a garden at North Sydney by Dr E. Morris Humphery, and presented, after repair, to Garden Island Naval Dockyard, Sydney, on Trafalgar Day, 1932.

ABERDEEN WHITE STAR CLIPPERS.

Among the finest ships ever built in Britain were the wooden clippers of the Aberdeen White Star fleet, but George Thompson & Co. (their managers) were never over-conservative like old Dicky Green, and, when iron was being universally adopted as the material for shipbuilding, the Aberdeen Line, after studying results, followed suit. Almost all these beautiful green-hulled clippers came from Hood's Yard at Footdee, Aberdeen, and the first iron ship Hood built for them was *Patriarch*. The second was the wet but speedy *Miltiades*, and the third was an improvement on both—*Samuel Plimsoll*, named after the famous Member of Parliament for Derby, who was interesting himself in the welfare of seamen and the care of ships, although it was not until three years later

that he made his momentous speech in the House of Commons in support of the Merchant Shipping Bill, the net result of which was the introduction of the "Plimsoll Mark" on the side of every ship. Naming their finest ship after a political figure who was engaged in a campaign against "coffin ships" and their owners (and this, regrettably, covered quite a large proportion of the ship-owners of the day) caused a considerable stir in shipping circles and brought a volume of abuse upon Thompsons, which had been aimed originally at Plimsoll himself. The Aberdeen Line had nothing to fear from the new Bill, however, being always most careful of the ships and their crews.

Throughout her long sea-going career *Samuel Plimsoll* carried saloon passengers, and, in addition, accommodation was provided in the tween decks for 200 emigrants—on some occasions she squeezed in 400, which was quite a crowd. Mr Frank C. Bowen has pointed out in one of his works that the only major weakness in the vessel was in the setting up of her lower rigging, and this seems proven by her several partial dismantlings, culminating in her final loss of the entire main and mizzen masts and gear, plus the fore topgallant.

Samuel Plimsoll was launched in 1873 by Mrs. Boaden, wife of Captain Boaden, who had previously made his reputation in command of the wooden clipper *Star of Peace*, and who was to command the new vessel. Her first fifteen voyages were made to Sydney, after which she was put on the bearth for Melbourne, but from each port she always loaded wool home.

She was never very lucky. Her account was opened, as it were, in 1875, when she left Plymouth for Sydney with about 300 immigrants, and almost immediately collided with and sank the Italian barque *Eurica*. Her own thick plates were undamaged. In 1879, when outward bound to Australia, she was dismasted north of the Equator by a sudden tropical squall. The bowsprit broke off short, the fore topmast went at the cap and brought the main topgallant down with it, gear and spars trailing overside in an utter shambles. Now it chanced that an American ship was in company when all this happened, and the Yankee offered to take the passengers on to Australia in his ship. Captain Boaden thanked him, but

declined, and set about clearing up and effecting repairs, which was done so speedily and so thoroughly that he was on course again in no time. Meanwhile the Yankee went his way and duly arrived in this country, going at once to *Samuel Plimsoll's* agents to report having spoken her, dismasted in the North Atlantic. He did not fail to mention, either, how Captain Boaden had foolishly turned down his offer of assistance to the passengers, but at this point the agent took him to the next room, where Boaden himself was waiting for him. He had arrived, jury-rigged, three days before the American.

In 1899 the famous flyer caught fire in the Thames and had to be scuttled, but was raised and repaired. Perhaps Thompson's had now had enough of her ill-luck; at all events, they sold her to Mr Walter Savill, and he loaded her for Australia and New Zealand on the Shaw, Savill & Albion Co.'s berth. In September, 1902, while passing Nugget Point, she was badly dismasted, as mentioned earlier, in a howling gale, and although no one was hurt the ship was badly damaged aloft and on deck. She drifted north, but was picked up by the Union Co.'s *Omapere* and towed to Gisborne Roads and then to Port Chalmers. Her cargo was discharged and she was sold to J. & A. Brown, the Australian coal people, for a coal store hulk, being towed across the Tasman to Sydney and then to Albany and Fremantle, where she was subsequently bought by McIlwraith, McEachern Ltd., who operated her as a coal hulk until eight years ago.

At 5 p.m. on June 18, 1945, the *Samuel Plimsoll* was coaling a steamer at Victoria Quay in a north-west gale and the B.I. steamer *Dalgoma*, in berthing, collided heavily with her, so that she broke loose and sank in the harbour. The coal was taken out of her and her hull cut into twelve pieces, each of which was lifted by the floating crane and dropped back in the sea outside the harbour—a sad end for a magnificent ship and one which, in an eventful career, did her share nobly and efficiently in the early days of Australian migration. Her original owners, the Aberdeen White Star Line, first owned ships in 1825, and from the first were in the front rank of the shipping community. As an indication, they were one of the few firms recognized as safe carriers by cattle breeders, who were very particular. On one occasion their old *Moravian*,

which incidentally ended her days in 1895 as a hulk at Sydney, landed fifteen valuable bulls in perfect condition belonging to Mr Isaac Ellis Ives, M.L.A., of the Argyle Bond, although the ship had weathered a full gale, the stalls having been smashed to matchwood and half the fodder washed overboard. The *Star of Peace*, to which reference was made in connexion with Captain Boaden, was a wooden ship of 1113 tons, built at Aberdeen in 1855, and was one of the flyers of Thompson's fleet. She is, perhaps, best remembered for her four consecutive passages to Sydney of 77, 77, 79 and 79 days respectively—no mean performance—and for her graceful yacht-like appearance. In 1884, however, Burns, Philp & Co. took her for a coal hulk and stationed her at Thursday Island, where she was broken up in 1895.

THREE "LOCHS."

Of all the ships employed in the days of sail in the trade between the United Kingdom and Australia few surpassed the splendid craft of the General Shipping Co. and Glasgow Shipping Co., sister firms, both managed by Aitken, Lilburn & Co., and better known as the Glasgow "Lochs" as distinct from the Liverpool "Lochs." These beautiful vessels, skilfully designed, superbly built and most ably managed, vied with the great London firms, such as Green, Devitt & Moore, Money, Wigram, and George Thompson's Aberdeen Line, for the Australian trade. Despite this, ill-luck dogged nearly all their ships, and when they sold their last square-rigger, *Loch Torridon*, in 1912, they ceased business as shipowners.

Messrs Aitken & Lilburn started their venture with six splendid iron ships, a wealth of experience (gained while they were in the employ of Paddy Henderson, of fame in the China, Rangoon and New Zealand trades), and the determination to make their mark in the highest class of the Australian trade. The first six ships were *Lochs Ness* and *Tay*, built by Barclay, Curle & Co. of Whiteinch, Glasgow, and *Lochs Katrine*, *Earn*, *Lomond* and *Leven*, all by Lawrie of Glasgow. It is with *Lochs Ness*, *Tay* and *Katrine* that we are primarily concerned, and they were, all three, flyers. *Loch Ness* was probably a shade faster than her sister ship, but *Katrine* was never far behind either. On their maiden voyages they arrived at Melbourne in the following order :—

Loch Katrine, December 20, 1869 (Capt. MacCallum).

Loch Ness, January 13, 1870 (Capt. Meiklejohn).

Loch Tay, February 12, 1870 (Capt. Alex Scott).

Loch Tay's was the fastest passage—73 days, anchorage to anchorage, a very creditable effort indeed, which was used to good effect to encourage wool support for the ship for the homeward voyage. As originally fitted, these ships all set stunsails, but when experienced crews became more difficult to engage the stunsails and their booms were sent ashore, and finally, after freights for sail bottoms began dropping away, the beautiful ships were cut down to barques like so many of their sisters. I doubt if it made much difference to their speed, although it was a big saving in men and material; in fact, *Loch Ness's* passages both out and home, in her old age, were nothing short of astonishing, for she still did her "seventies" coming out and rarely took much more than 90 going home.

On August 3, 1908, she was sold in Melbourne for £3,000 to the German-Australian Line, whose steamer *Itzehoe* left Melbourne on August 27, 1908, with *Loch Ness* in tow for Adelaide. The barque broke adrift off Cape Otway and sailed across, herself, in the teeth of a south-westerly gale, arriving on September 4. She was fortunate in having had her full crew still aboard. The Germans converted her to a coal hulk, and as such she survived until August, 1926, first at Adelaide, and then from about 1921 at Fremantle. Meantime the Chief Justice of New South Wales, Sir William Cullen, sitting in Admiralty in 1920 heard an application by the Crown for the condemnation of *Loch Ness*, then owned by Stevedoring and Shipping Co., whose shares with three exceptions were held in Hamburg. Against this, exemption was claimed, as the Peace Treaty had been signed, the defence admitting that the German-Australian S.S. Co. were the principal shareholders. The Chief Justice found in favour of the Crown, and declared the hulk a "good and lawful prize." She was therefore offered for sale and finally passed into the hands of the Royal Australian Navy as their Fremantle coal hulk, but by 1926 they had no further use for her. In August of that year the cruiser *Melbourne* called at Fremantle on her way back from Mediterranean service, and when she left on August 18

she towed the old clipper to sea west of Rottnest Island. *Loch Ness* was turned adrift after dark, and the cruiser sank her by gunfire at about 11 p.m.

Loch Tay had engaged in much the same trade as her sister, and had become well and favourably known to the Geelong wool-shippers in particular. She left Glasgow in 1909 for Melbourne, Sydney and Newcastle (as a sign of the times, note the three-port discharge range—unheard of in the great days of sail), and, having completed discharge, was towed back to Sydney. She was floated into Woolwich Dock on August 30, 1909, for inspection by Messrs Huddart, Parker Ltd.—her prospective purchasers—and after inspection, cleaning and painting, sailed in ballast on September 5 for Adelaide, where she was dismantled and turned into a coal bunkering hulk. She is still there, and when last in Port Adelaide two years ago I found her drowsing away beside the Birkenhead Bridge with another one-time deep-water sailor—the *Cumbrian*—alongside her.

Loch Katrine was a sister of the other two *Lochs*, and proved herself almost their equal in speed, as witness her maiden voyage when she arrived in Hobson's Bay on December 20, 1869—81 days out from Glasgow—not in itself anything remarkable, but between Tuskar and Cape Otway she had only spent 74 days, which was commendable.

She did better than this in 1893, going from the Channel to Melbourne in 71 days, which was her best passage, and a good one at that, of which *Thermopylae* and *Cutty Sark* themselves would not have been ashamed. In 1907 she was nearly lost when outward bound in the "Roaring 'Forties"—in similar circumstances a less strongly built ship would have been lost, and indeed many were. In a south-westerly gale she took a sea aboard which demolished the standard compass and smashed a lifeboat to matchwood. The following wave swept away the wheel and helmsman and the binnacle, and burst in the saloon skylight, allowing tons of water to get below. Added to this, the ship broached to and filled her main deck with water, so that it was only the energy and seamanship of Captain Anderson, and the good work and courage of the crew, which got the old ship away before the wind again and so enabled a jury-steering gear to be fitted.

The next turn of fortune's wheel came for the 40-years'-old ship in January, 1909, when, after reaching Melbourne outward bound, she was almost sold to Messrs McIlwraith, McEachern Ltd. for a coal hulk, but Aitken & Lilburn still valued their ship highly, whereas McIlwraiths were after a bargain. The sale fell through and the ship made another voyage, arriving in Melbourne under the command of that grand old seaman, Captain T. C. Martin, in April, 1910. She left Melbourne for Sydney at 2 a.m. on Saturday, April 23, and passed Wilson's Promontory at 6 a.m. on Sunday. At 2.30 a.m. on Wednesday, April 27, while near Cape Howe, a sudden squall laid her over further and further until the main topmast went at the cap and the mizzen topgallant mast with it. While all this wreckage was sculling about in the water, the mainmast snapped off three feet above the deck and smashed the starboard boat to matchwood. The loss of the entire mainmast left the fore yards swinging wildly and aimlessly from side to side with every roll of the ship, until the fore upper topsail yard freed itself of its gear and crashed on the lower topsail yard, carrying that away, both yards fortunately going over the side. The fore yard now tore free of its truss and sling and crashed on deck. Left with fore topgallant and royal yards only aloft, *Loch Katrine* began to roll so violently and heavily that it was almost impossible to remain upright on her decks. This lasted until 8 a.m., when the foretopmast and all the gear above went over the side with a tremendous din. At 10 a.m. the mizzen topmast went and the spanker boom fell on the starboard compass, smashing it like a toy. A good part of the poop rail went with it, but worse was to come, for at noon the remains of the foremast snapped four feet above the deck and fell on the main hatch, which was stove in and the adjacent pumps broken. Captain Martin and his crew went to work with a will, and by 6 p.m. had the decks clear of wreckage, but at that moment *Loch Katrine* decided to plunge her bow under a green sea, thereby snapping the jib-boom off at the cap. Thursday (April 29) was spent in clearing away wreckage, and next day the ship was rolling too much to work, but on the following days the ship's company was engaged in jury-rigging. On May 2 at 2.30 p.m. the chief and second officers and

five seamen were sent away in one of the only two remaining boats to seek assistance at Gabo, being picked up by the Swedish steamer *Tasmanic* and landed at Melbourne, while their news was signalled ashore in the meantime. All this time *Loch Katrine* was being coaxed along, now drifting, now sailing, until off Jervis Bay, where she remained some days and where the tug *Heroic* found her. She was brought to an anchorage in Athol Bight, Sydney, on May 10, subsequently surveyed, found to be not worth refitting, and therefore offered for sale. Nearly a year later Dalgety & Co. bought her for a coal hulk, and a coal hulk she remained for over twenty years. In the course of this period she changed hands again—this time to Burns, Philp & Co., who had her towed away to Rabaul by the steamer *Trekieve* on May 18, 1924. She was destined to be the bunker hulk for their small inter-island steamers based on Rabaul.

In the early 1930's, motor ships having replaced Burns, Philp & Co.'s coal-burners, the old sailer was towed across to the company's timber wharf at Kokopo and sunk there as a breakwater. She remains there to-day—a monument to the splendid workmanship and tough iron which went into her construction eighty-four years ago.

Apart from anything else, these three *Loch* ships must be interesting to us for the fact that they were the very last sail-driven passenger ships operating a regular service to and from this country.

TWO TEA CLIPPERS.

The Port of Melbourne has kept some important vessels as hulks, not least among them being the composite-built former tea-trader *Chusan*, launched in February, 1865, by Clayton of Birkenhead for J. Hossack of Liverpool, and employed in the China trade—although she was by no means a flyer and her career was undistinguished. Her active life was not particularly long, and after about twenty years we find her owned by the Victorian Government and moored in the Yarra to supply coal to the port's barges, tugs, etc. She was replaced by the steel barge *Mombah* in the early 'thirties, however, and failed to weather the depression, being broken up in June, 1931, for firewood for the unemployed. This fate had also

overtaken one of the prettiest of a line of ships noted for their excellence in design—Shaw, Savill's *Elizabeth Graham*, built by Harkess of Middlesborough in 1869. She was a well-known and popular passenger ship, and year by year took out her share of travellers and immigrants to New Zealand, bringing home on holidays or permanently a goodly number of the earlier settlers who had prospered. Her passenger-carrying days were numbered, however, and before long she was carrying more timber and coal than passengers; being owned and commanded in 1887 by Captain C. S. Hodge. Mr G. J. Robertson of Sydney bought her early in the century, and before long she was hulked under the name of *Graham*. In December, 1933, this old trader was also broken up to provide the unemployed with firewood.

Speaking of the tea trader *Chusan* calls to mind that very remarkable vessel, *City of Hankow*, which was built on the Clyde in 1869 for the China tea traffic to the order of G. Smith & Sons' "City" Line. I say she was remarkable because she was the only ship ever built with iron topsides (i.e., the part of the hull above the water-line) over a teak underbody. Her frames were iron, and she was sheathed with yellow metal. Her best known Commander was Captain Napier, iron hard but tremendously popular with passengers and crew in all his ships, and a prodigious sail carrier, for which he had plenty of scope in the "City" ship. She was given a full suit of extras (common enough in the China clippers, but rarely seen in Australian waters), including skysails, stunsails, watersails, Jamie Greens, and ringtails. Her maiden voyage was out to Calcutta and back, and was not remarkable, but she then loaded for Shanghai against the *Jungfrau* and the speedy *Northampton* commanded by Captain Bradley, an experienced and wily "China" bird. At this time, and indeed until much later, Gaspar Straits were very indifferently charted, and it was *Hankow*'s luck to get ashore on a reef over which the shallower *Northampton* passed with safety, but after waiting for a tide she kedged off, caught up with and passed *Northampton*, and docked at Woosung ahead of her. The tea trade was failing, however, as far as sail bottoms were concerned, and after a spell in the Calcutta and West Indian trades she was laid on the berth for Australia, in

which sphere she had some creditable races with such notable clippers as *Thermopylae*, *Cutty Sark* and *Thomas Stephens*. In 1900 she was sold to Mr G. J. Robertson of Sydney and joined his well-known fleet—but for three years only, becoming a naval coal hulk under the name of *Hankow*, or unofficially and less reverently, just *Hank*, at Thursday Island in 1903. In 1927 the sloop H.M.A.S. *Geranium* arrived at Gladstone on October 20 from Thursday Island with *Hankow* in tow, and handed her over to H.M.A.S. *Sydney*, which brought her into Sydney on the morning of November 11. The technical press of the day was at some pains to note the way *Hankow*'s 58-years'-old hull stood up to the heavy weather experienced on the passage. Subsequently, she was towed back to Thursday Island and to Darwin, where she was emptied of coal. Later, the *Hankow* was towed away to the north-east of Melville Island and sunk in 41 fathoms of water on September 18, 1932, in position latitude $10^{\circ} 12' S.$ and longitude $132^{\circ} 36' E.$, while in use as a target for aircraft and gunnery exercises by H.M.A. Seaplane-Carrier *Albatross*.

OTAGO.

In the beautiful Derwent River in Tasmania, at a place known officially as Dodge's Ferry, but more plainly



"Otago" in Derwent River.

—(By courtesy of John McCredie, Esq.)

and descriptively as "The Wrecks," lies a little iron hull bearing the name *Otago*. Many of her plates have been removed, and what remains is heavily rusted, but the lines of the thoroughbred are still visible. She was a clipper

barque of 367 tons, launched by Stephens of Glasgow in 1869 for H. Simpson & Co. of Port Adelaide, some time owners of two other vessels which became Australian hulks —*J. L. Hall* at Albany, and *Verulam* at Melbourne.

Otago was intended for the Mauritius sugar trade, but was registered in the name of Captain J. Snadden when in Bangkok in 1887, at which time her captain died. Joseph Conrad, later the famous author, was then second officer of s.s. *Vidar*, and was appointed by the British Consul to command *Otago*, a task to which he gave his whole heart and carried out with distinction. He took her to Singapore, Sydney and Melbourne, through Torres Strait to Mauritius and back to Adelaide, but was then, to his great regret, called home through family illness. If you are a Conrad reader, you will know his story, *The Shadow Line*, which is undoubtedly written about his beloved *Otago*.

After Conrard's time the little barque sailed under a number of different owners, until in 1900 we find her owned by Mr C. J. F. Gerber of Sydney, who sold her in 1903 to Huddart, Parkers as a coal hulk. She was towed to Melbourne in February of that year by their steamer *Corio*, and about 1912 she was taken over to Hobart by the tug *Eagle*, where she functioned as a hulk until January, 1931. Her owners then sold her to Captain H. Dodge for £1 as she lay at anchor. Captain Dodge had her beached in her present site with her bows almost in an apple orchard and within the shadow of Mount Direction. Her wheel, discovered in a storeroom on board, has been presented to the Honourable Company of Master Mariners, London, as a Conrad relic.

The oil-fired boiler, the diesel engine, and now the gas turbine have between them rendered the coal hulk obsolete, while the ports of the wheatfields have built silos to take the place of grain hulks. As a result, the number of surviving hulks in Australia is dwindling rapidly, and very soon now there will be none left at all to recall to us the Great Days of Sail. In the words of the Poet Laureate :—

They mark our passage as a race of men;
Earth will not see such ships as those again.

Letters from German Immigrants in New South Wales.

By GEORGE NADEL.

The immediate purpose of the following excerpts from letters written in 1849 is to document the history of a little known group of German bounty migrants to New South Wales.¹ Their larger purpose is to invite attention to the history of the immigrant, as distinct from the history of immigration, as a field for study.

I.

On April 4, 1849, the three-master *Beulah*, a ship of 578 tons burthen, four months out of London, dropped anchor in Sydney Harbour. The colonial press made barely a reference to the 170 German immigrants aboard. Amidst the news of the fall of monarchies, the assassination of ministers, the flight of the Pope, the Danish War, and all the other belatedly reported happenings of the *annus mirabilis* in Europe, immigrant ships made no news. They were an everyday occurrence in 1849. Next to the *Beulah* lay the *Julinder* with some 260 labourers from the Western Counties, and the *Digby* with a cargo of some 230 Irish orphan girls. If Germany, like other countries, was losing tens of thousands of its oppressed inhabitants to places as scattered as Chicago and Johannesburg, it was only natural that some should come to the Australian colonies. Following the example of South Australia, Port Phillip received some thousand Germans in that year,

¹ The letters are reproduced in Wilhelm Kirchner, *Australien und seine Vortheile für Auswanderung* [Australia and its advantages for emigration], 2nd ed. (Frankfurt, 1850), pp. 59-158. J. Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia* (Melbourne, 1935), p. 52ff., knows nothing of this group; A. Lodewyckx, *Die Deutschen in Australien* (Stuttgart, 1932), p. 72, and *Die Deutschen in der Australischen Wirtschaft* (Stuttgart, 1938), p. 26, is similarly silent; L. L. Politzer, *Bibliography of German Literature on Australia, 1770-1947*, has overlooked the 1850 edition of Kirchner in the Mitchell Library, and quotes the 1848 one as 1948. The only reference found so far is in A. Heising, *Die Deutschen in Australien* (Berlin, 1853), p. 62: "According to reports from Frankfurt-on-the-Main, about 300 rural workers and vintners left their homes in 1848 and over 600 in 1849, to pursue sheep raising and viticulture in New South Wales. They were recruited specially by the efforts of the German consul Kirchner in Sydney. Nothing is known of their subsequent fate."

shipped directly from Hamburg to Melbourne. Four months after the arrival of the *Beulah*, on July 5, Sydney received 160 Germans on the *Parland*; another 30 arrived on the *Harmony* on September 23, 1849.

The Germans who arrived in Sydney in 1849 constituted a special group. They came from the Rhine provinces; they were vintners.

The Macarthurs were the pioneers of viticulture in New South Wales. There had been sporadic attempts from the very earliest days of settlement by German and French vintners to plant vines in the colony, but it was the importation by the Macarthur family of German vintners from the Rhine provinces in 1836 that gave the industry its start. This group, arriving in the colony in 1837, was led by Johannes Stein. Five years later, Edward Macarthur recruited a further group and despatched them to his brothers, William and James Macarthur. This time another Stein brother, Jakob, joined the group, though a third, Joseph, had to be replaced by one Stumpf, as Joseph "in the last moment changed his mind, having been so persuaded by his wife." It is true that the Steins, and the vintners in the employ of other settlers, seemed troublesome to their masters. They consulted lawyers about their rights under their contracts, Jakob Stein turned out a "perfect little firebrand," and altogether the Macarthur brothers thought it wise to bring out a new group once the five-year contract of the second group had expired.² It was not *Papers*, Vol. 37B, p. 280 ff., MSS. in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Edward to William Macarthur, November 8, 1842 : *Ibid*, Vol. 22, pp. 275, 293-9.

difficult to obtain more German workers from Erbach, the home town of the Steins. By 1848, Johannes, the oldest brother, had saved up enough to buy himself a hundred-acre property. His numerous relations in the small Rhenish villages marvelled that he should have his own estate, cattle, servants and coach; eagerly and enviously they perused his many letters from Australia. Even the uxurious Jakob Stein now decided to leave; his letter from Camden is quoted below.

It was not easy to persuade the British Government to pay bounties for the immigration of foreign labourers.

² William to Edward Macarthur, August 20, 1847 : *Macarthur*

The Colonial Secretaries felt that such immigration, while satisfying the colonial end of the Wakefieldian precept, was not calculated to benefit England, as colonization was meant to do.

Early in 1847, after a lengthy correspondence between Governor FitzRoy, the New Zealand merchant Beit, James Macarthur and the Hamburg Consul in Sydney, Wilhelm Kirchner, conditional permission to import specialized foreign workers was granted.³ The Regulation of April 7, 1847, permitted the immigration of workers for the cultivation of vine, olive and silk, and similar fields where British labourers were not available. A bounty of £36 for each married couple, and £18 for each child over 18 years of age, would be paid by the Government, but none for foreign immigrants who were not specifically employed in the occupations for which permission had been given.⁴

The more opulent settlers, whose properties were situated in suitable areas, soon filed their requests to be permitted to import vine dressers and wine coopers. Charles Cowper, Andrew Lang, Henry Carmichael, the Coxes, Blaxland, Bowman, Wdneyer and Wentworth appear among others on two lists granting to forty gentlemen the right to introduce the 119 German workers they applied for.⁵

The machinery was now set in motion; with the aid of Kirchner, the Germans were soon recruited, and by the ships *Beulah* and *Parland* 104 German families were carried to Sydney in 1849. Their reputation for industry, skill and thrift made them welcome; labour was short, and, even where British labour was available, contrasts as to sobriety and application were frequently drawn in favour

³ *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. 25, pp. 493-512; and Grey to FitzRoy, December 11, 1847, *ibid.*, Vol. 26, pp. 67-8. This is conveniently summarized in R. B. Madgwick, *Immigration Into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851* (London, 1937), pp. 40-1.

⁴ *New South Wales Government Gazette*, April 9, 1847.

⁵ One list in *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. 26, p. 10; another enclosed with FitzRoy to Grey, November 22, 1847, C.O. 201/385 [available in Mitchell Library Typescript of Missing Despatches, Governor of New South Wales to Secretary of State (Enclosures), 1846-48, Folio 3530]. Lang's earlier attempt (1837) to import 250 German vine-dressers failed. The Germans mutinied aboard ship and disembarked at Rio : J. D. Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales* (London, 1875, 4th ed.), pp. 270-2.

of the Germans. The colonial press was usually favourably disposed towards them. Suggestions were made that the South Australian practice of immediate naturalization instead of the cumbersome and expensive letters of denizenship be made available to Germans in New South Wales.⁶ Wentworth offered to settle up to 150 German Protestant families on his properties; their pastor was to live rent-free.⁷

Of the sixteen letters from German emigrants collected by Kirchner, twelve were written by arrivals from the *Beulah*, three by those from the *Parland*, and one from an outside group.⁸ Kirchner's statement that he reproduced the letters exactly as they were written is supported by internal evidence. That they were all the letters he succeeded in obtaining from the relatives of that group may also be true. His insistence that he would have also printed letters unfavourable to Australian emigration, had he been able to find any, must be balanced by the consideration that such letters would probably not have been taken to him by the relatives of the migrants in Germany. The letters were all written between May and October, 1849, that is, within a few months of disembarkation.

II.

In some ways the reactions of this German group are those of most other immigrants of that period; in that sense their letters belong to the history of Australia. There are the usual tales of life aboard ship: the dreadful storms, the seasickness that produces a morbid fellowship and almost extinguishes the will to survive, the mess groups each with its mess-captain (a practice known already on the hulks), the shipboard food, the marriages,

⁶ *People's Advocate*, April 12, 1849.

⁷ Kirchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-6; cf. also Frauenfelder's letter below.

⁸ The *Beulah* carried 47 German couples and 75 children, 169 persons in all. Thirty-eight men were vine dressers and three wine coopers. One only is noted as illiterate among the adults. The *Parland* brought 57 German couples with 47 children, 161 in all; 124 were Roman Catholics and 37 Protestants; 54 were vine dressers and three wine coopers. Two adults are classed as illiterate. The ages of the men ranged from 22 to 50 (the maximum permitted); most were in their early thirties. As prescribed by the bounty regulations, married adults only made up the group. Childless couples were few. *New South Wales, Colonial Secretary, Immigrant Lists, Port Jackson, 1849-52*, Vol. II. (German).

births and deaths. The tranquil beauty of Port Jackson is greeted with ecstatic relief; the buildings, streets and shops of Sydney are unexpectedly like those of civilized Europe, and often with pardonable exaggeration considered superior to anything ever remembered by the immigrant. The evidences of colonial well-being are admired, and even more so the fact that it is shared by those whose occupation and appearance would have denied them that share in older societies. The mildness of the climate, the vastness of holdings, the independence and resourcefulness of the bushman, and the imaginatively enlarged fauna invariably capture the attention of the newcomer. The tales of drink and crime, of drought, heat and flood are soon retold and sometimes experienced.

But in other ways the letters of the German emigrants tell a special story. And since the salient points of their experience are described, not in one, but in almost all the letters, certain common factors can clearly be discerned.

(1) They are all 'forty-eighters. The absence of prying officials, gendarmes, tax collectors and oppressive landlords is to them a testimony of the rightness of their action in leaving the tyranny of their homeland. Had they read the accounts of English and colonial radicals of the time, these would not have made sense in terms of their experience of Australia. Here was freedom for Britisher and foreigner alike. The worker was unmolested by a capricious employer. "The state," they wrote, "is not as it is with us; here you cannot tell the master from the servant." There was no censorship, no lordly demeanour on the part of those of whom it could rightfully be expected. Moreover, the worker was not compelled to work hard; the produce of his own garden was his, and even the beasts of burden ("six oxen need not do what one does in Germany") were not abused. The women, most astonished of all, did little labour beyond their own housework; "they fare best here; they are countesses; no work in the field, and always lift your hat to them"; and "we are well and I do not even work an eighth part of what I work in Germany. . . .". Here were no wars, no tributes and no exactions. It was a land of peace and plenty. Thus, filtered through the consciousness of their homeland, their first impressions of Australia are sensitive only to the ease, dignity and liberty of the labouring man.

The fact that, unlike many other immigrants, they almost all continued in the occupations they had exercised at home, facilitated the contrasts they drew.

(2) As a consequence, not one of them considered himself an exile or wished to return. That is not to say that they express no homesickness in their letters. They miss the all-pervading presence of the village, the merry-making, the familiar dignities of parson and schoolmaster, and the even more familiar faces of their friends and neighbours, to most of whom they are related in one way or another. They complain :—

One has to do without all merry-making; not every Sunday is a holiday here and wine is very expensive We do not see Germans any more.

But unlike many English immigrants, such as the young Henry Parkes, they did not blame economic or political oppression at home for an unjust or unmerited separation from their homeland. With some, their migration was a tribute to God's wisdom, and, with others, a tribute to their worldly wisdom; an incentive to their families to come and do likewise, it was with each one of them. Many English migrants had to reconcile themselves slowly to the fact that these English colonies were not really English; nor were they temporary stopping places in which to recoup a lost or denied fortune, or acquire precisely that station in life from which they were excluded at home. It was only when the English migrant became conscious of the fact that his migration was a total and not a temporary committal that his perception of the new country approximated the unbridled visions of these Germans. To the latter it was a new birth : they now knew for the first time—the phrase occurs time and again—that “if one wants to work, one also knows why one works.” Unlike Wentworth in one century, and D. H. Lawrence in another, they did not feel that the absence of blood shed in defence of Australian soil detracted from the inner relatedness of the inhabitants to the land. They write :—

Here is God's earth, the same as in Germany, but the soil is fertile and the climate healthy and God's blessing still lies in the earth. In Germany it has risen up in smoke but here is still an innocent earth. Here have not yet been committed so many sins, not so much innocent blood has yet been shed as in Germany.

In reading these excerpts, it will become obvious that the fidelity of their description is limited by these visions as much as it is illuminated by them. Also, the letters reflect first impressions of men in a particular environment, which many of them eventually left to follow the more usual colonial occupations. In translating these excerpts no attempt has been made to edit the angular dignity of their simple style.⁹ On the whole, the degree of literacy of these German rural workers, especially that of Hahn and Frauenfelder, is surprising. To be sure, they often wrote of simple things, and the observations they made are not profound; but the letters they wrote are the stuff of which such observations are made.

III.

JÓSEPH HORADAM, of Wiesbaden, came out on the *Beulah* with his wife and two children. He worked for John Farquhar [?] at Lochinvar, near Maitland. On August 12, 1849, he writes to his brothers and all good friends at Wiesbaden :—

. . . Everything I grow in the garden is mine, except that I have to provide the master with vegetables. All the rest is mine and there is no one to watch me; what I do is right. We now live better and more cheerfully on week-days than does the richest peasant in Germany on festive days, because we have meat and cake every day. (62)

I think in 6 years I shall have saved enough to buy myself a nice property, as it is true to say here, that what one earns one can save. Here is no one to demand money from you, nor is it customary to pay taxes or other assessments. One can say here with reason: one is a free man. I am sorry that I did not bring Heinrich with me. He would live much better than in Germany, and would not have to work half as hard as he would here. If, as would seem most desirable, all my brothers and sisters and good friends were with me, surely nobody would think of Germany any more. For in Germany the worker is not a man but must be considered as an oxen that is led by his horns every day. This is the truth and all I can tell you for the time being; now write soon, also something about Germany, how you are, and especially about the Revolution. . . . I wish you all to live as well as we do now and greet you all heartily until we see each other again. (63)

⁹ Corrections have been made only where it was necessary to preserve the meaning; the currency has been expressed in pounds, and the names of their employers have been identified where necessary. With one exception, the letters follow the order in which they appear in Kirchner, *op. cit.*; his pagination is given in parentheses after each excerpt.

FRIEDRICH DIEHL, of Oberrad, near Frankfurt, and his wife and child also came on the *Beulah*. Of all the adult passengers on the ship, he was the only one who could neither read nor write. His wife probably wrote for him. On May 17, 1849, he addresses his mother and brothers and sisters from the property of Henry Carmichael, Porphyry Point, Hunters River :—

.... Thank God we are living well now, we do not ask for black bread and potatoes; the bread we bake ourselves and it is all white bread. We have more than enough to eat and wish you could have everything we leave over. A dog here devours more meat in one day than you would probably eat in 14 days, for there are no poor people here. There are altogether very few people here as yet, because where we are there are two houses, at some distance another house a.s.o. We have a nice house containing two dwellings; it is situated in the forest and we can pick up the wood in front of our doorstep. We are, thank God, quite well in every respect and wish that my brother Hannes could be with us and Liese, or my old mother. She could end her days in my house and would not have to work, except to hold my little boy in her arms and walk in the garden. (64)

ENGELBERT HAHN, a carpenter from Eltvile, who came out as a vine dresser, travelled with his wife and two children on the *Parland*. His employer was Thomas Icely, of Carcoar. The letter, dated August 27, 1849, is addressed to his parents-in-law at Eltvile :—

.... Compared to Germany, our work is child's play. Here are no masters who climb up hay stacks with spy-glasses to see whether the workers take a breather. No! Here we work as human beings, and not as beasts—as the poor man with you has to work if he wants enough bread for himself and his family. Here we eat no blackbread, our bread is made from wheat and resembles cake. Also, here is no official, who, if a poor man bakes cake once a year (and we eat it daily), has inquiries made lest he should by any chance receive poor relief. Not here! Anyone with a strong pair of arms can assure himself of an adequate living. (70)

Oh, there are very many Englishmen who (71) arrived here poor, 12 to 14 years ago and are now rich people. But the majority get nowhere because they waste everything on drink. We had a family of gardeners here on the property, a man with three grown-up sons, who left 14 days after our arrival. These 4 men had an annual wage of £105, that is £525 in 5 years, and after 5 years on the property left with barely £10. Now had they used up £110 in these 5 years, seeing that like ourselves they could live free, £415 would have remained them. How well they could have established themselves and would have been independent too; but so are most of them, the blessed brandy! Come, all of you, who can possibly arrange it. Leave Germany, for there you are and remain slaves; even if you broke the yoke of tyranny you would still be slaves of the aristocrats of money. There are too many in that narrow

space to make a livelihood. Come hither, here you find ample space and means of making a living. What man of force and courage could hesitate [to choose] between here and Germany ? There, to be a witness to the grave death-struggle of old ideas, here, full freedom in the truest sense of the word. There, upheaval, religious hatred, partisan fury, revolution among all nations; here, peace, the plough, the sciences, the founding of new cities. There, you are under state despotism, oppression of faith and thought, oriental tyranny, castes and classes, war and mania for destruction; here man is enthroned in his eternal right, free in faith and opinion, as rich as his diligence and as great as his worth make him. Free thought is not suppressed by courts, ministers, priests and censorship. I ask everyone who can possibly come to bid farewell to Germany; not the pleasure-seeking lazy people, but industrious people with a desire and love for work. For the curse of perjury shall be on me, if I do not wish the best of you, my German brothers. Leave the tyrants to their piece of land and seek here a new home and hearth. (72)

. . . . I would advise you to sell everything and to come. But dear parents, for you at your age the voyage is very difficult, though the old Sayer woman was quite well on the trip.

We would be very happy if that were possible, and if you arrived naked and bare on Australian soil, it would still be better than in Germany. You could spend your old age in peace, whereas now you live with continual worries. And how are things now ? Certainly no better than when I left. The Sydney papers report great unrest in Germany, but it takes always 4 months to receive the news from Germany. (73)

I ask you for one favour. Could, perhaps, someone be kind enough to put some roses on my mother's grave until next Corpus Christi day ? God forgive all those who share in the guilt of her early death. (74)

PETER NORRAGARDT, also off the *Parland*, joined Diehl at Carmichael's property, Porphyry Point. There he wrote to his parents, in-laws, brothers and sisters at Neudorf, near Eltville, on August 26, 1849 :—

We are well pleased and wish you were all with us; we have to work (87) but not the way we do in Germany by a long way. We eat well, every week we receive 10 lbs. of flour, 10 lbs. of meat, 2 lbs. of sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of coffee or $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of tea. But still, anyone who does not want to work ought to stay at home because not everything is provided just to one's taste; however, one knows what one works for. (88)

SEBASTIAN SCHUBACH, off the *Beulah*, expressed the same sentiment in a letter written on June 24, 1849, from William Walker's property, Kiamba. It is addressed to Mayor Johannes Jung and his other friends in Erbach, on the Rhine. His wife, Maria Eva Schubach, mother of four children, is quoted below :—

If one wants to work here, one also knows why one works. He who has plenty of children is happy. This was told us by a gentleman who visited us the other day, and asked us how we were satisfied with our master and whether we had any troubles. This gentleman spoke German very well and told us we ought not to hold back with anything. He was a representative of the government and travelled around the country to make things clear to people. You see, people here do not look down their noses at you because you are an emigrant, as they would if you planted yourself in a place in Germany.¹⁰

. . . . Thirty Englishmen travelled with us, those over 14 years paying £15 each, those under 14, £7, infants are carried free. Therefore, whoever can afford it should go to this expense. It is, however, soon made up, as there is plenty of money in this country, plenty to earn and one does not owe anything all the year round. The state is not as it is with us; here you cannot tell the master from the servant. Also, one does not need a contract when arriving in Sydney. The masters soon come aboard and ask for Germans since everyone wants to have workers. (97)

I tell you here in this letter, be not afraid of this far journey, for God dwells everywhere and His providence rules from one end of the earth to the other. It is not dangerous to travel hither. In London it is an everyday occurrence to travel to Sydney, and in Sydney ships from all parts of the world arrive. It is not so far as Herr Pfeffer told me, when I was standing in front of my barn-door on those last days before my departure: it were too far, he would rather travel to the moon than make this journey. We are here now and the moon is still as distant from us as it was in Germany. (98-99)

. . . . Dear brother Heinrich, do not forget to write to me again immediately you receive this letter. Tell me also what has happened to German liberty since I have been away and what fruits she has borne you. (100)

JOSEPH STEIN (see above) wrote from Camden to Bernhard Jung, gardener, of Erbach on the Rhine, on September 26, 1849:—

. . . . One after the other was being fetched by his master, but how overjoyed was I when on Good Friday my brothers and Stumpf came along to see who had come out from Erbach. What tears of joy were shed! But when my brother, Johann, heard that I was to go to a master 300 miles further than where I am now, he purchased my release for £29 cash. He looked after me like a true brother, not for nothing had he written so often to Germany [for me?]. My brother Johann, then took me to brother Jakob at Parramatta. There I and my family stayed for 8 days. . . . My brother Johann, went home, made a contract with my master (101)

¹⁰ Frauenfelder (see below) comments on the same happening: "You see, well-beloved friends, thus does the government take care of us Germans. — Who looks after a new settler in Germany? No one, except the townwatchman, the policeman, the rate collector. . . ." (155)

and returned to fetch us on the 9th day with 2 horses. I could also have stayed with the master of my brother Jakob, but that I would not do since my brother Johann took me to take his place, where he had been 12 years. I live in the same house, have the same garden and am superintendent of the vineyards and the cellar. . . .¹¹ (102)

If you find an opportunity, oh do come. We are awaiting you; yes, what is good for me is good for you.

You other brothers-in-law you are also heartily (103) welcome, but I say you are [unprintable], you have no courage. I can assure your old parents, as well as mine and those of my wife to be of good cheer. Do not spill so many tears for your children, they are well. I know it is painful, and even more painful at the departure. Forgive us all the errors we have made, with a glance towards heaven. I forgive you even though my father spoke of me with such ill grace in the inns. He is a feeble-minded man; whoever curses his child, curses himself. Even my sister wrote me a hostile letter, which was unnecessary. I have read it, forgiven her and send her once again my best wishes.¹² (104)

. . . if the master comes to the vineyard sometimes and looks around, he speaks of all kinds of happenings. He told me on

¹¹ Frauenfelder (see below) tells a different story: ". . . we were not allowed off before the government had arrived and conducted its examination as to whether the passengers had behaved well towards each other and their superiors, and the captain and his subordinates towards us. This happened on Easter Saturday. Then every head of the family was called out with his family one by one. Beginning with the father and right down to the smallest child that could barely speak, all were asked their name, occupation, whether they could read or write, how old they were and whether they had any complaint against anyone arising out of the voyage. Those with clean sheets were fortunate, as two men who had fought and quarrelled with one another were not taken into employ by their masters on that account. One had a hard time finding a master. The other had it easier, he had two brothers in the country, one resident 8 [6] and the other 11 years. The oldest took him to the property he had recently acquired. He is superintendent at Mr. Macarthur at Camden, 40 miles from Sydney, has £60 a year in wages. His name is Stein and he comes from Erbach in the Rhine province. Mr. Stein paid £29 to the captain, which the government had had to pay, and took his brother to his property. . . ." (142-3)

¹² Eberhardt Meyer, writing to his parents-in-law at Eltville on August 27, 1849, also refers to the prodigal son problem: "I now no longer regret that we have left our fatherland and sought another homeland where I fare better than in Germany. I no longer have to nurse the thought that I have been driven out by a mother who prefers one child to another and lets him who was and will be her doom, live in her house. I do not want to know about this [now], I have forgiven her everything and my only consolation would be to have her with us. She would have to do nothing but eat and drink and live without care. . . ." (84)

18th September that things were very bad in Germany. That (1) the Roman Catholic religion was sorely troubled, yes even the Pope was to be, or has already been killed. That would be a grave happening for people young and old and for the clerical world. (2) That in Mannheim and in other cities the Parliament has been overthrown by the burghers. (3) That the Danes were completely crushed by the Germans, especially by those from Nassau and Saxony. Oh, you tortured people of Germany, if things are like that, then I was doubly wight in avoiding both war and poverty. Here one lives quietly indeed, without war, and exactions are not thought of.¹⁸ (107)

MARIA EVA SCHUBACH, wife of Sebastian, writing from Kiamba on June 24, 1849, to her parents, brothers and sisters, tells more personal news :—

The Good Lord has not yet left us. He has led us upon a good path and we thank God daily for it. Oh, I would like to be with you for only an hour to tell you everything, but I do not want to return to Germany. I wish you were all with me, you would be exempted from your drudgery. It is indeed a far voyage, and a difficult one for people with small children; but for those who have no children yet, it is a pleasure trip. We live (113) now in a country where there is still peace, where one can live without sorrow or care. One need not fret, when the end of the week approaches and there is no more money for buying food, how one will last out the week. That we need not do, dear father, we have no worries. Even if it rains for a whole week so that our men cannot do much work, our provisions and wages continue. (114)

Our Nannchen and Kaetchen have been going to school for 6 weeks now and we pay 12 shillings and fourpence for the two children. This is our biggest expense. But they must learn English and they are both learning it well. (115)

Dear sister Katharina, and my dear sister Christina, my promise to make a code mark in my letter to indicate that we are well is quite laughable in Australia; that I am well I can write you as openly as I can that you are my sisters. . . . (116)

Do not forget to purchase the Little Englishman and study it diligently aboard ship. We learnt no English on the ship because we were too many Germans, and that was not good for us. We learnt more on our trip inland than we did in 4 months on the ship, and now we know quite a bit through our children, who are learning diligently at school. (121)

¹⁸ Christian Badior, writing to Eltville from William Ogilvie's property, Merton, Hunters River, on September 23, 1849, says of the war news : "You wrote me that so many people from Eltville wish to go to America. Yes, one cannot blame them because the misery in Germany is too great. We hear almost every day that there is war in Germany, that the city of Mainz was besieged, that the Russians and Cossacks were encamped in the Rhine province and that German soldiers fought the Danes, so that many [of military age] remained behind. We got out of it just in time as I have always had a dread of military life. . . ." (80)

JOHANN PETER FRAUENFELDER, who at 48 was one of the oldest immigrants on the *Beulah*, came from Greater Saxony. He never did things by halves. His children numbered seven, the pages of his letter several times that figure. When describing his religious emotions, he was perceptive. When writing shipboard gossip, he spared few details. His reflections on Australia's virgin soil are imaginative and moving. His letter, sent from Kiamba, is dated June 24, 1849 :—

A further couple, the eleventh, also wanted to be wed but was not permitted, since the bridegroom had 8 days earlier beaten his bride and ill-treated her. Because of that the captain pushed and beat him with his fist, called him a swine [and said] if he behaved like that again he would not take him to Australia, but drop him on an island inhabited only by pigs. However, he improved and 15 days later on 18th February, they were married and at the same time their little son was christened. (138-39)

Here SEBASTIAN SCHUBACH's description of a visit by clergy on arrival may be inserted to connect with Frauenfelder's later comments :—

On the afternoon of Good Friday two clergymen came aboard and inquired whether there were any Catholics on the ship. We spoke with them through the interpreter and would have liked to have held a service. But this could not be done as we could not speak to the clergymen [ourselves]. The next day we were told by a German that these were Bishop Polding and his chaplain, such was the custom when a ship arrived at Easter. (92) There were also two Protestant clergymen wanting to show the way to heaven to the sailors; these, however, subscribe to a bad religion.

We promised His Grace, Bishop Polding, that we would attend mass on Easter Day and he told us that he would hold it for us Germans at 11 o'clock.

Bishop Polding celebrated mass himself and preached a sermon. The organ played a Latin "Kirian, gloria" just as we had learnt it from our priest at Erbach. This pleased us greatly, but lasted until one thirty. Here one can still see Catholic Christians, which astonished us greatly. Oh Germany, how lax are thy people in religion. (93)

FRAUENEFLER writes on the same subject :—

In the afternoon came also a Protestant clergyman; he reaped no great harvest. The sailors laughed at him and went away, and the few passengers were also half joking.

Believe me, dear relatives, we were not late for church and there we found again our Mother. The service here is conducted as well as it is in Germany. Never in my life have I prayed more devoutly; Christ is risen, Alleluia. The Archbishop himself celebrated the mass, which, musically, was performed as beautifully as in the foremost churches of Germany; we felt like at home. When

we came to the Protestants after the service, they complained that they had understood nothing in their church and felt discouraged about church matters altogether. By contrast, we were no strangers. Already on entering the church, we emigrants were shown by an appointed verger to our seats in the choir loft. . . . (143)

As I now knew my destination, I put my four girls to service in the city for there was nothing they desired more than to remain here. They could have obtained several places, but along came Mr. Wentworth, a Legislative Councillor, with two married daughters, and on the advice of the captain, desired the services of my 3 eldest daughters. He offered me, without being asked, £12 for each. I assented at the persuasion of the captain. Eva went to Mr. Wentworth himself as chambermaid. She has to wash, cook and clean. Margareta went to one of his daughters, and Genofeva to the second daughter; each has to do washing and cleaning. (144)

On Wednesday before Whitsunday, our master came from Sydney and led us to several beautiful places [at Kiamba]. At a distance of 500 yards or 5 minutes from the master's house, we came to a small hill, 15 feet high, with a spring at its foot. There we were to lay out a German village. . . . (152) When Mr. Walker came again to the place, a few days later, he asked us what we would like to call the village. As my two colleagues [Sebastian Schubach and Heinrich Raul] came from Erbach in the Rhine province, we called it Erbach-in-the-Country and the street Frauenfelder Street. He was greatly pleased with this, said he would put it into the papers in Sydney and if the new settlers came out they would be induced to settle here. . . . (153)

All the days which I spent during the last 8 years in Germany with my little brood of children, to shelter and provide whom caused my hair to turn grey, all those sorrowful days and sleepless nights I shall dedicate to God, my Heavenly Father. And I shall have borne them for the love of Jesus Christ, our Saviour, as the Holy Ghost had something better intended for me than I have merited! He gave me the desire to emigrate, and I wandered and wandered and finally left the country for another continent, the farthest. . . .

Here is God's earth, the same as in Germany, but the soil is fertile and the climate healthy and God's blessing still lies in the earth. In Germany it has risen up in smoke, but here is still an innocent earth. Here have not yet been committed so many sins, not so much innocent blood has yet been shed as in Germany, nor have our fellow-creatures been robbed of their goods and chattels. Here, if you plough one furrow it is not one furrow too many for your neighbour. If emigrants come into this land with many children, no one says: he and his beggarly crew will soon be a burden to the parish. Here is pleasure in the father of a family with many children; when they are small they are easily fed, when big they can work, be of use and have bread and good wages. The drudgery of working many severe days and nights, as it is in Germany, is not the custom here. Nature and climate themselves contribute; all the year the woods and the fields are green. (154-55)

The "Reliance" Log-Books of Matthew Flinders.

By Commander W. E. MAY, R.N.

The log-books of Matthew Flinders for the period during which he commanded the *Investigator* are well known. It is not so well known that there are in existence his log-books as lieutenant of the *Reliance*. At that time all lieutenants had to keep logs, as well as the captains and masters, and many of these are deposited in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. The four Flinders logs there cover the period from November 26, 1796, to November 8, 1800.

When the ship was commissioned on November 1, 1794, Charles C. Ormsby was her 2nd Lieutenant and Flinders was Master's Mate. Ormsby was relieved on December 8 by Nicholas Johnson, but the latter was discharged as unserviceable at Rio de Janeiro on May 13, 1795. The *Reliance* remained without a 2nd Lieutenant until November 25, when Flinders was given an order to act, his commission from the Admiralty confirming the appointment being dated January 23, 1797. The log-book for his first year as an Acting Lieutenant is missing, and, when the first which we have opens, the *Reliance* was on passage to the Cape of Good Hope, having left Port Jackson on September 29, 1796. During the period covered by the logs, the ship reached the Cape on January 16, 1797, sailed again on April 11, and was back at Port Jackson on June 27. Thereafter she remained at Port Jackson until March 3, 1800, except for two visits to Norfolk Island, the first from May to July, 1798, and the second from November to December, 1799. These must have been arduous trips, as there was no anchorage at Norfolk Island, and the ship had to stand off and on for three weeks or so while she landed her passengers and took off others.

The lieutenant's log-books were often written up from the ship's log, and indeed in many cases the lieutenant employed someone to do it for him. That Flinders copied at least part of his log is obvious from the fact that it continues to record happenings in the ship even when he was away from her. For these absences we have the following entries :—

February 2nd, 1798—The *Francis* colonial schooner sailed for Preservation Island to bring the remainder of the late *Sydney Cove's* cargo from thence. I went in her to make some observations amongst Furneaux Isles and along this coast.

March 10th, 1798—The *Francis* schooner came into the cove from Preservation Island.

October 7th, 1798—Sailed the *Snow Nautilus* for Furneaux Islands, sealing; accompanied by the colonial sloop *Norfolk*, commanded by the 2nd Lieutt. of this ship, for the purpose of exploring the supposed strait between Van Diemens land and New South Wales and to circumnavigate the latter, by order of his Excellency, the first commander of this ship.

January 12th, 1799—Arrived the Colonial sloop *Norfolk*, commanded by the 2nd Lieutt. From Twofold bay on this coast, which was surveyed, she went to Furneaux islands with the *Nautilus* in Company, and from thence over to the coast of Van Diemens land to near the last part seen by Capt. Furneaux. From thence she coasted near 3° of longitude on the North coast of that country. The only opening found there was Port Dalrymple which Lt F. surveyed. The N.W. part of Van Diemens consisted of several islands which were named after his Excellency, the 1st Commander of this ship. From Hunters Isles, she found the coast trended to the Eastward of South, and thus determined this passage to be an extensive strait, separating New South Wales from Van Diemens land. The sloop still kept the land close on board to the S.W. Cape, without finding any harbour, unless there should be one about $22^{\circ} \text{ N}^{\circ}$ of the Cape, where an opening was seen of considerable width. She ran within the body of De Wits Isles, and along the S.E. side of Adventure bay island into Frederick Henry Bay, which was found to be very extensive. She also went up the Derwent River, but had not time to examine the Storm bay passage into it, being limited by his Excellency to 3 months, which was now expired. This also prevented her ascertaining whether a passage did not exist, from the head of Fred. Henry bay out to the Eastward. The sloop kept the land on board, close round Cape Pillar, and passed near Schoutens islands, but the N.W. wind, and want of time prevented any examination of them, or of the East coast of Van Diemens land. Having made Furneaux Isles again, and ascertained that no land existed due North of the Sisters, as was supposed she made the land about the Ram head, and with difficulty got off the coast, the wind being S.S.E. and South.

July 8th, 1799—Sailed the sloop *Norfolk* to examine Glass-house and Hervey's Bays upon this coast, commanded by the second lieutenant of this ship.

August 21st, 1799—Arrived the colonial sloop *Norfolk*, from her expedition to Hervey's and Glass-house Bays which the second lieutenant examined. They were neither of them fit harbours to shelter a ship against all winds.

When at sea, Flinders made many notes concerning the navigation of the ship. It is of interest, that though the ship carried a timekeeper, the old name for a chronometer, references to it are but few, the longitude having

been apparently obtained more often by lunar distances. The variation of the compass was frequently recorded, and on one occasion it is mentioned that the variations obtained by Walker's and the ship's azimuth compasses differed by $3^{\circ} 48'$, and on another by $2^{\circ} 58'$. It is noteworthy that on both these occasions the ship's head was near East, and that a few years later Flinders discovered that the largest deviations of the compass occurred in the *INVESTIGATOR* when her head was near East or West. Ralph Walker, of Jamaica, had invented his meridional compass in 1793, and had brought it to England in the *PROVIDENCE*, Captain William Bligh, in which ship Flinders was also serving. Owing to the cost of this compass, it was only supplied to those ships whose captains or masters were specially qualified to use it.

During the four years covered by the logs, there were nineteen floggings varying between six and eighteen lashes, four men being flogged twice. The most common crimes were various forms of disorderly conduct and absence without leave. There were only three cases of drunkenness, all during the last few months in Australia. The acting boatswain was dismissed the ship by court-martial for insolence to Flinders.

The *Reliance* was in a very bad state of repair, and after her return from the Cape in 1797 was leaking badly. Large repairs had to be carried out to make her seaworthy, and, with no dockyard to fall back upon, these were a long and painful business. The following extracts from Flinders' log illustrate the state of repair of the ship and the manner of repairing her. It will be appreciated that in logs of this period the day was reckoned from noon to noon instead of from midnight to midnight.

May 7th, 1797—Found the Larbd forem^t M. shroud gone — knotted it.

May 8th, 1797—Knotted the Starbd forem^t M. shroud.

June 21st, 1797—Split the main sail in hauling it up.

July 2nd, 1797—Unbent the topsails, got the T. gall^t masts down on deck and unrove the running rigging — the ship continues to make abt $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. of water pr hour; before coming in she made four for a few days.

July 8th, 1797—Employed landing the remainder of the guns.

July 13th, 1797—AM Sent the powder on shore to the magazine.

July 21st, 1797—AM at 6 slipped the best bower, (keeping a hawser fast to it). hauled alongside the *Supply* and put in bd 5 cables and 4 hawsers. At Noon hauled off and moored as before.

July 22nd, 1797—The ship still continues making above 2 inches an hour altho' she is lightened 2 feet.

August 1st, 1797—Employed getting up coals into old casks and sending them on shore.

August 3rd, 1797—The ship continues to make the same water with very little variation.

August 19th, 1797—Landed some of the Boatswain's stores in casks at the storehouse.

August 22nd, 1797—Sent on shore the Gunner's stores, and the three tops. AM Launch sent to cut timber for outriggers for heaving down the ship.

August 27th, 1797—In sending Carpenters stores on shore the pinnace swamped, but got on board the *Supply* with the loss of some of them.

August 31st, 1797—Found a leak under one of the floor timbers, in the garbet strake¹ by the fore hatchway. AM Trimming the ship by the head to find if any leak was abaft.

September 2nd, 1797—Employed strapping² purchase blocks for heaving down by.

September 4th, 1797—Unmoored and worked up the Cove to the anchors laid on the rocks for heaving down by: — moored in 4½ fms within a ships length of the shore. the best bower brought in abaft and several hawsers to anchors and stumps of trees ashore.

September 5th, 1797—Employed securing the ship head and stern. AM Carpenters and superny caulkers employed on the starboard side.

September 6th, 1797—Employed fitting rigging for securing the M. mast.

September 7th, 1797—AM Employed fitting double martingales for the outriggers.

September 8th, 1797—Employed lashing the anchors to a ring in the rock, by which a ship had formerly hove down, and loading them with mooring chains.

September 9th, 1797—Employed strapping dead eyes for the three outriggers, fitting the martingales and a belly band with a top chain for a preventer purchase. Otherwising loading the anchors with mooring chains.

September 11th, 1797—Got topmasts on board for shores and outriggers for heaving the ship down by. Employed fitting martin-gales.

September 12th, 1797—Fitting shrouds (additional) to the M. mast.

September 13th, 1797—Employed fitting the shrouds for the outriggers.

September 14th, 1797—Sent all the small arms on shore. Hauled the ship a few fms farther off the rocks. AM got the outriggers in their places and rigged them.

¹ Garbet strake (Garboard streak), the plank in the ship's bottom next to the keel.

² Strap (strop), the rope band around a block by which it is hung.

September 15th, 1797—Carpenters making chocks &c for the outriggers. AM Employed placing anchors for the purchase falls.

September 16th, 1797—Employed lashing and securing the outriggers. Carpenters driving bolts for the martingales into the lower bend, and making a floating stage.

September 18th, 1797—AM Stayed the masts, set up the fore rigging and began upon the Main, getting the masts over to the larboard partners.³ Got a shore up and lashed, to the fore mast.

September 19th, 1797—Fresh gales and squally with rain; obliged to leave the rigging unfinished. Getting lashing &c out of the store house. AM Employed landing Boatswains stores and clearing the ship.

September 21st, 1797—AM Set up the Main and Mz rigging, as also the additional M. shrouds to the outriggers, keeping the Masts over to larboard partners.

September 22nd, 1797—AM Hauled the ship closer to rocks to land the remr of the kentledge.⁴

September 23rd, 1797—Employed landing the kentledge. AM lashing the blocks and reeving the purchase for heaving down.

September 24th, 1797—AM landed the remainder of the kentledge and stores, and everything ready for heaving down.

September 25th, 1797—Sent the ships company, with chests & hammocks to remain on board the *Supply* whilst heaving down. AM Having got everything ready, at 9½ began to heave, but when the ship came to her bearing, the anchor, to which the purchase fall was led, started; and we were obliged to righten.

September 26th, 1797—Got another stream anchor up the bank, backed that which started with it and secured them both. Employed otherwise preparing for another heave, pumping out the ship &c. AM hove the ship about three fourths down, when the strap of the lower purchase-block gave way and the ship righted suddenly, but tolerably easy, and did no mischief. Employed putting new straps (4 parts of 7½ cable-laid) to both purchase blocks.

September 27th, 1797—Employed setting up the rigging and lashing the Mast head and belly shores afresh : also got up a lower belly shore. AM having got a gang of Convicts and some hands from the *Supply* to assist as usual, at 7½ began to heave, and brought the upper part of the keel out; when the two foremost main shrouds broke and the Mast came over to the lee partners; rightened immediately and finding the other shrouds not very good, began unrigging the masts and got the *Supply's* fore rigging to replace it.

September 28th, 1797—Employed rigging the Main mast; set up the stay, and the rigging hand taught. Got a pair of old M. shrouds in addition, over the mast. AM Set up the M. rigging. Employed lashing the shores &c.

September 29th, 1797—AM Set up the rigging again and began to heave at 8 but the strap of the lower block not rendering round the anchors as the mast came perpendicular over them, it slipped

³ Partners, the strengthening pieces around the hole in the deck through which the mast passes.

⁴ Kentledge, iron ballast.

through the seizing. Righted, fresh seized the strap and got a spar under the block to keep it upright. Everything standing securely, hove the keel out, belayed, and passed some turns of the 7 in round the mast head and anchors for additional security; ripped off the copper and found that what had occasioned the leak was two butt-ends, from between which the oakum had worked out, as also that a piece let into the garbet-streak plank and another butt-end farther forward wanted caulking. Carpenters employed on the stage caulking the bottom round the leak.

September 30th, 1797—The carpenters having finished at 3 righted the ship and pumped her out. Find the ship perfectly tight.

October 9th, 1797—AM Carpenters hewing out timber in the rough to be brought in for riders, which are to be continued down to the fore timber heads fore and aft.

The next month was occupied in working on the rigging, and by the carpenters in making and fitting the riders.

November 15th, 1797—The carpenters having got all the riders fitted and the upper bolts drove; began to fresh lash the shores and get everything ready for heaving down to drive the lower bolts.

November 17th, 1797—Hove the ship down for the carpenters to bolt the riders.

November 18th, 1797—At 3 rightened the ship. AM Hove the ship down, within 4 feet of the keel and by noon the carpenters had got all the bolts drove and capped, when we rightened.

November 20th, 1797—AM swung the ship, in order to be ready for heaving down, when the Carpenters shall have completed the starboard riders.

December 28th, 1797—AM Got the topmasts out for outriggers : lashed and rigged them and otherwise prepared to heave down; the Carpenters having got the last rider on board, and nearly bolted above water : AM Stayed the Miz. mast, set up the rigging and got the foremast shored up & lashed.

December 29th, 1797—Got the shores up for the M. mast and otherwise preparing to heave down. AM stayed the M. mast; got it over to the starbd partners and set the rigging up.

December 30th, 1797—Employed lashing the main shores and purchase blocks, and securing everything. AM Shifted the after cable, under the counter to the larboard side.

January 2nd, 1798—Lashing purchase blocks to the anchors on shore and the necessary preparations for heaving down.

January 3rd, 1798—Hauled the ship closer to the rocks, rove the purchase fall and set up the M. rigging again. AM set up the outrigger shrouds, and sent everything out of the ship. At 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Began to heave : the Carpenters bolting as each tier came above the water.

January 4th, 1798—Got the assistance of a gang of convicts (and the *Supply's* people as in the morning), and hove her within 4 feet of the keel. At 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ the Carpenters finished bolting, and repairing the copper where it required it; when we righted the ship, hauled further off, unrove the purchases and pumped the ship out.

At other periods we read of spars, rigging and sails being lent by one ship to another to keep her going, and when preparing for the passage home we read, "Got the quarter deck guns struck down and after hold to ease the ship," but they had to be got up again in a hurry at sea when a suspicious sail was sighted.

At last the *Reliance* was ordered home, but although on February 2, 1800, she "fired a gun as a signal for sailing for England," it was not until a month later that she got away. At St Helena they altered the date for the second time that commission, having completed their second circuit of the globe. Here also the *Reliance* picked up a convoy to take home. During this passage much annoyance was caused by the master of the *Favourite*, who showed no desire to co-operate, as the following entries reveal :—

June 16th, 1800—At 10, made the signal for the convoy to weigh. At 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ weighed, stood off a little, and then hove to for the ships of the convoy to come out and join. At noon the *Mornington* and *Hercules* in company but the *Earl Howe* and *Caledonian* not yet weighed. The *Favourite*—oil ship from S° Georgia—standing off and on.

June 17th, 1800—At 4 bore away, with the 5 before mentioned ships under convoy. AM The *Favourite* being considerably astern, desired the *Hercules* to tow her up under three topsails, waiting for the tow.

June 18th, 1800—At 4 brought to for the *Hercules* and her tow to come up and then ordered her to cast off. AM The *Favourite* not in sight at daylight.

June 21st, 1800—At dusk, made signal for convoy to close, but not being attended to by the *Hercules* fired a shot ahead of her to bring her to her station.

July 12th, 1800—Strange sail having shown some colours & fired a gun, gave her a shot to bring her down to us. Made the *Favourite's* signal with a gun supposing the strange sail to be her. Sent an officer on board to enquire why he left the convoy on the evening of June 17. Answer was he understood Captain Waterhouse when hailing that "he was sorry to be obliged to leave him." This was not said, or anything that could be so construed fairly : The *Favourite* however hauled two points to the northward at dusk, according to the masters account, and in the morning steered the convoys course again. He now requested to be under convoy as before.

July 14th, 1800—At sunset made signal to close & repeated it with the *Favourite's* pendant, she being considerably astern. AM shortened sail for the *Favourite* and made her signal to close with a gun.

July 15th, 1800—Ordered the *Hercules* to run down and see what was flying at the *Favourite's* peak and the *Howe* to take an

intermediate station and carry a light. At daybreak the *Hercules* and *Favourite* 7 to 10 miles to leeward.

July 16th, 1800—Inquired of the *Hercules* concerning the *Favourite's* signal of the preceding evening. According to the *Hercules*' report, it was a dirty table which she had imprudently hoisted at the peak. At 10 made signal to close, and repeated it to the *Caledonian* and *Favourite* with a gun.

July 17th, 1800—Desired the *Howe* to show a light to the *Favourite* who was considerably astern, during the night. The *Favourite* 6 or 8 miles astern at daylight.

July 18th, 1800—At daylight the *Favourite* just in sight. Sent on board the *Howe* to enquire concerning the *Favourite* whom she had spoken and who complained of being left so far astern; but the leaky state of the *Howe* and *Caledonian* and other circumstances seem to make it necessary for us to make the best of our way without her.

July 19th, 1800—The *Favourite* 6 miles astern.

July 20th, 1800—AM The *Favourite* ahead.

July 21st, 1800—Informed the *Favourite* of the necessity there was for us to carry all sail.

All things come to an end, however, and the final entry in this log reads :—

November 8th, 1800—The pendant of H.M.S. *Reliance* hauled down at sunset, the ship being put out of commission by an order from the Admiralty.—Mattw Flinders 2nd Lt.

Macquarie Portrait at Windsor.*

By G. A. KING (Member).

There is considerable history associated with Windsor (N.S.W.) Court House, which was built in 1820-1821, although it is not the original Court House, there having been an earlier one prior to 1821.

One of the most treasured possessions of the people of Windsor is a painting of Governor Macquarie, which occupies a place over the Bench in the Court House.

This portrait of Macquarie was arranged for during the Governor's last visit to Windsor before his return to England.

In an address of farewell, dated December 12, 1821, from the inhabitants of the district of the Hawkesbury, Macquarie was informed that it had been resolved "to request of Governor Macquarie to sit for a half-length portrait in England to be put up in the new Court House

* See Royal Australian Historical Society's *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. XVI., p. 37.

at Windsor." To defray the expense of the portrait the sum of seventy guineas was immediately subscribed.

The Governor, in delightful language, replied that "the resolution passed at your meeting requesting me to sit for a half-length portrait is highly gratifying to my feelings and is too flattering a mark of the personal regard of the inhabitants of the districts of the Hawkesbury to be rejected. I, therefore, with sincere pleasure and pride, acquiesce in your request, by agreeing to sit for my portrait on my return to England, and I shall ever bear in mind a lively recollection of the honour thus conferred upon me."

A change of plans apparently occurred, as the painting was made by Richard Read, senr., who, in 1814, had established a drawing school in Pitt Street, Sydney, and who, in 1821, removed to Hunter Street. In 1823, Read advertised that he had painted a number of smaller portraits of Macquarie, which were for sale.

Who was "X.Y.Z." of "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827" ?

Note by W. L. HAVARD (Fellow).

In *Fourteen Journeys Over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales, 1813-1841*, Part II., Collected Edited and Privately Printed by George Mackaness, the Table of Contents on page 5 includes this entry :—

No. X.—Anonymous (CAPTAIN WILLIAM JOHN DUMARESQ) : "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827."

The reader will note that although "Anonymous" is shown above and below as unquestionably identified, yet finally, in the annotation, uncertainty is expressed.

On page 75, after giving the date of this "Journey Across the Blue Mountains" as "1824" instead of 1827, the Editor has the following introduction :—

TITLE : "A Ride to Bathurst." Six letters.

AUTHOR : Anonymous, but signed at foot of each "X.Y.Z." (Captain William John Dumaresq).

SOURCE : *The Australian*. . . . The letters appeared on 13th March, 1827, and in succeeding issues.

ANNOTATION : As suggested by my friend, Mr. Malcolm H. Ellis, F.R.A.H.S., these unsigned letters, entitled "A Ride to

Bathurst," may possibly have come from the pen of Captain William John Dumaresq, the second of three brothers who accompanied their sister and brother-in-law, General Sir Ralph Darling, the new Governor, to New South Wales in 1825. He was made provisionally civil engineer of the Colony, and a little later, inspector of roads and bridges, a position which would have given him an opportunity of making a journey such as that described here. . . .¹

COMMENTS.

1. It can only appear to the reader of page 5 and page 75 that "Anonymous" is twice unquestionably identified.

2. Not a few others besides Captain Dumaresq had the opportunity and the need at that time of making such a journey.

3. Any idea that Dumaresq was the author is extraordinary. The internal evidence of the six letters is to the contrary.

"X.Y.Z." was a "mountain traveller in search of land" who found the going "no joke to one not accustomed to the saddle"; at Cox's River, where there were two dangerous fords to pass the horses over, he "observed several soldiers belonging to the station enjoying themselves in perfect repose on benches . . . and while they sat looking at us almost breaking our horses' legs through the ford, I wished that the active officer in charge of roads and bridges [Dumaresq himself, maybe.—W.L.H.] had been with us, on a hundred guinea horse"; at the Fish River he noted "a road party stationed," and "it is always with a feeling of pleasure that I pass these useful hands. In my frequent excursions through the Colony, the utmost order and respect have been observable, in whatever direction I have fallen in with them"; "X.Y.Z." was critical of Government—"all beyond is the Government's!"—but not of "our most popular newspaper, *The Australian*," the paper that criticised Darling, Dumaresq's brother-in-law!

4. Bear in mind that at Springwood these travellers had "some cigars" from "our own stock," while at Collits'

¹ Mr Ellis, in a note in the Sydney *Bulletin*, wrote that what he told Dr Mackaness was that the writer could *not* have been Captain Dumaresq, since the Captain, as an intimate member of Governor Darling's family, would scarcely have written articles in a journal partly controlled by the Governor's enemy, W. C. Wentworth.—(EDITOR.)

Inn² "we finished our cegars [not their stock, let's hope] under the verandah."

5. "X.Y.Z." was "the tobacconist"—THOMAS HORTON JAMES.

6. The first of the valuable letters of "A Ride to Bathurst" appeared in *The Australian* on March 13, 1827. Subsequently the *Sydney Gazette* commented :—

(a) On March 15 : "The Tobacconist, as soon as his 'Ride to Bathurst' terminates, it is thought will peregrinate to Western Port. . . . *The Australian* in the meantime will be conducted by the Doctor [R. Wardell], who will feel the deprivation of the Tobacconist much. . . . The Tobacconist has grown quite popular, since it is known he contributes so largely to *The Australian*."

(b) On April 25 : "Is it true that the Editor of *The Australian* is in partnership with the Tobacconist ?" . . . "Is it true that Thomas Horton James, Esq., is writing a treatise on smuggling ?"

(c) On June 29 : "Thomas Horton James, tobacconist . . . ,"

(d) On August 8 : "THOMAS HORTON JAMES, the Father of Australian Tobacco . . . the fertile and inquisitive pen of the Grower of Colonial Tobacco, has been industriously employed in *The Australian*."

(e) On February 11, 1828 : "Mr T. H. JAMES . . . has attended to the growth of tobacco . . . "

² The illustration given by the Editor on page 89 is not of "Collit's Inn." The inn was elsewhere—below and beyond the foot of Mount York, where no road ever ran as seen in the illustration. The view shows a later building near the foot of the Pass of Victoria at Mount Victoria. The pass was opened by Bourke in 1832, to the disadvantage of Collits, whose inn was thereby left some miles off this new route. But a relevant Corrigendum is offered in Part III. of *Fourteen Journeys* :—"The Editor regrets that on page 80 [page 89] of Part II. . . . the illustration bearing the legend 'Collit's Inn' [Collits is the surname] was incorrectly named. It is actually that of the Inn [or one of them] at Little Hartley, at the foot of the Pass of Victoria. Collit's Inn, built in 1823 and still in existence, is some distance to the northward, at the bottom of the original road from Mt. York, built by William Cox in 1814." No, indeed ! Collits' Inn was built at some distance from Cox's road. Cox's road passed well behind the inn ; the inn faced closely a newer road—leading past the front gate and described by "X.Y.Z."—which avoided the "Big Hill" of Mount York, and instead came down from the Blue Mountains through Long Alley.

Notes and Queries.

By JAMES JERVIS, A.S.T.C. (Fellow),
Honorary Research Secretary.

Price fixing, with which Australians are familiar owing to the exigencies of war, is not new; it was introduced during Governor Hunter's term of office. Hunter purchased grain and pork from the settlers. The price paid to settlers for pork in 1799 was 1/- per pound; later it was reduced to 9d. per pound. Wheat in October, 1799, was purchased by the Government for 8/- per bushel and maize for 4/-. In September, 1800,¹ Governor King issued an order informing the public that private retailers would not be allowed to charge more than 20 per cent. on the purchase price at the ship.

In March, 1802,² butchers were licensed, and the price at which they were to buy and sell meat was fixed.

In August, 1800,³ Governor Hunter was informed that a consignment of goods was being sent out by the English Government for sale to the general public. Hunter was instructed that these goods were to be disposed of to the inhabitants "for money, or barter for grain or animal food supplied to His Majesty's stores." Thirty per cent. additional was to be charged on perishable articles and 20 per cent. on imperishable goods to indemnify the Government for freight and losses incurred in issuing the material in small quantities. The officers of the ship *Earl Cornwallis* were allowed to bring out a quantity of goods for sale on condition that they were to be such a price as the Governor might think proper.

The *Earl Cornwallis* arrived in June, 1801, and P. G. King, who was then Governor, issued instructions to John Palmer,⁴ Commissary, concerning the disposal of the goods sent out, and he was informed that an advance of 30 per cent. was to be charged "on perishable, and 20 per cent. on unperishable (*sic.*) articles." Those requiring goods had to obtain written permission before a sale could be effected, and payment was to be made before delivery,

¹ *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. I., p. 662.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 477.

³ *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I., Vol. II., p. 551.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 163, 164, 165.

except in such cases as the Governor judged it advisable to give credit until the next harvest.

The price of soap was fixed at 8½d. to 9½d. per lb., children's shoes 19/2½ to £1/7/- per dozen, girls' shoes £1/17/4½ to £2/8/5½ per dozen, women's shoes ("stuff and leather") £2/13/6 to £3/7/9½ per dozen, Welsh flannel 2/0½ to 2/5½ per yard, Irish linen 2/0¾ to 2/5½ per yard, women's black cotton worsted hose 2/8½ to 3/- per pair, to quote a few of the items listed.

The practice of selling goods by the Government at fixed prices continued until the arrival of Macquarie, who reported in April, 1810, that he was of the opinion that it could not be discontinued "without great Inconvenience and Loss to the Settlers in general, there being no regular Supplies imported by private Merchants sufficient to answer the Demands of the Inhabitants, and the Prices laid on by Individuals on European Articles imported by them are so enormously high that the lower orders of the People cannot afford to purchase them, however much they may Stand in Need of them."⁵

In March, 1815, Macquarie reported to Earl Bathurst he had abolished "the bad Custom of Supplying Settlers and other persons with Various Articles for payment from the King's Stores in this Colony."⁶

Potatoes have made headline news for years, and the news item from the *Sydney Gazette* of January 14, 1837, concerning this very necessary article of diet is of interest :

The late importers of potatoes from Van Diemen's Land are making a very pretty thing of it; at that place they are purchased at from £1/12/6 to £1/15/- per ton, and expenses in bringing them up amount to another pound, and they are readily disposed of here from £7 to £8 per ton.

In a return of live stock made to the British Government on July 9, 1788, it is stated that the number of rabbits in the settlement was five, three of which belonged to the Governor and two to officers and men of the detachment serving at Sydney Cove. In 1837 rabbits again appeared in the news. The *Sydney Gazette* of January 19, 1837, said :—

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. III., pp. 250, 251.

⁶ *Ibid*, Vol. VIII., p. 464.

Rabbits are so scarce, that the only pair in the market on Tuesday were not to be had under £3; they used to be 5/- a couple.

Much is heard of the doctrine of Socialism to-day. The earliest reference in the local press to this political faith seems to have been in 1840, when *The Australian* published the following paragraph in its issue of April 25, 1840 :—

There are at present in Sydney a number of persons styling themselves "Socialists" who, we are informed, are about to establish an "association" having for its object the promulgation of the "Social System" principles—or that scheme of Society advocated in the Mother Country by Robert Owen and his deluded followers.

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Early Pastoral Settlement in the Coastal District of Central Queensland.

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NOTE.—The broken sequence of reference numbers is in strict accordance with the author's manuscript.—(EDITOR.)

By early 1853, with the best lands of what is now Southern Queensland taken up, the earlier "flockmasters of the Moreton Bay District" were turning perceptibly into the later resident "Shepherd Kings" of the Downs.

Their rapid transformation into an established class of land-holders concerned with consolidation rather than expansion was now one of the features of this area of colonial evolution. . . . Within a decade of H. S. Russell's stocking of Burrandowan, almost every square mile of herbage of the Burnett lands had been enclosed within the erratic tree-blazed boundaries of the occupiers . . . over the whole of the lands watered by the Burnett and its innumerable tributaries to the country beyond the Dawson north of Gayndah the pastures were locked against invaders by Lawsons and Elliotts, by Lawlesses, Archers, and Haleys, Joneses, Pleydell-Bouveries, and McTaggarts, Strathdees, Friells, and Marjoribankses, Furnivals, Mocattas, and Farquahars. . . . With the improvements upon their runs, with the hard-won concession from Her Majesty's Government of some rights of tenure, these Crown leaseholds—for which their owners paid a mere ten pounds annual rental—had earned a marketable value if only for the flocks and herds which grazed upon them. This value, with growing infrequency, came to be realized in sales of pastoral properties.¹

For—although the stream of land-hungry men still surged on northwards ("endlessly seeking unoccupied country . . ."), and although "a few of the new-comers bought flocks with the stations nominally thrown in"—most, however, avoided such an outlay of precious capital, and pushed north to seek the square miles of vacant grazing lands that lay in the track of the unfortunate explorer, Leichhardt, in the terra incognita of the tropics. . . .²

Such, simply, was the genesis of Central Queensland pastoral settlement : land-locked monopoly to the far South, and the inevitable response of a vigorously expanding, land-thirsty economy—the decision to trek onwards in search of greener (and freer) pastures further North.

Typical of the new pioneers were the Archers, soon to become—in more ways than one—the first family of Central Queensland. In the early 'forties they had arrived in the Moreton Bay District, and in the next decade their stations blazed the trail into the North : Durundur, Emu Creek and Cooyar Creek in turn. By 1853 the Archer Brothers were at Eidsvold and Coonambula, but obviously they were looking further afield. Colin Archer wrote to his brother David (Coonambula, March 12, 1853) :—

. . . Don't you think Charlie has a great deal of brass in his composition, when he, the great pioneer of the North, has been out on the Dawson three several times, and has hardly found a place worth the trouble of putting sheep on; and here are the Leith-Hays, just past this with their 28,000 sheep, who, in a ten days' journey from Berrys, in spite of all his prognostications, stumbled across a fine, well-watered run for their sheep (i.e., Rannes), after travelling over the very country he had seen on one of his journeys. . . .³

Certainly, few families had opportunities in that direction such as the Archers. Ludwig Leichhardt, who stayed at Dunrudur, was their close friend, and (as existing correspondence indicates) they were able to learn from him, first hand, his reports on the Great Unknown to the North ; keeping always on the most advanced "frontier" of settlement, they were necessarily in touch with most lesser figures of Queensland exploration; and, perhaps equally significant, their intimate connexion with the powerful Walker interests of Sydney* must have made available to them official gazettes in the Government Lands Office that were not open to every would-be settler.†

* The mother of the Archer brothers, Mrs William Archer of Tolderodden Estate, Laurvig, Norway, had been Julia Walker, sister of the James Walker who had founded the company in New South Wales, and was head of the family who owned Wallerowang and (later) Yaralla.

† This line of argument, of course, accepts as correct the thesis that *Australian Land Exploration had more than a disinterested connexion with the later squatting settlement*—which view seems to be fairly well substantiated merely on evidence available in Central Queensland. The Archers of Gracemere were themselves explorers: so too was P. F. MacDonald of Yaamba, who led numerous exploring parties into the West, and himself took up the runs he found (besides Yemeappo, he held Fernless, Marmadilla, and Columbria); and, of

Like most of the squatter advance guard, the Archers, where necessary, were explorers themselves. Thus, five months after his first letter, we find Colin Archer again writing home to David in Norway (from Coonambula, August 27, 1853) :—



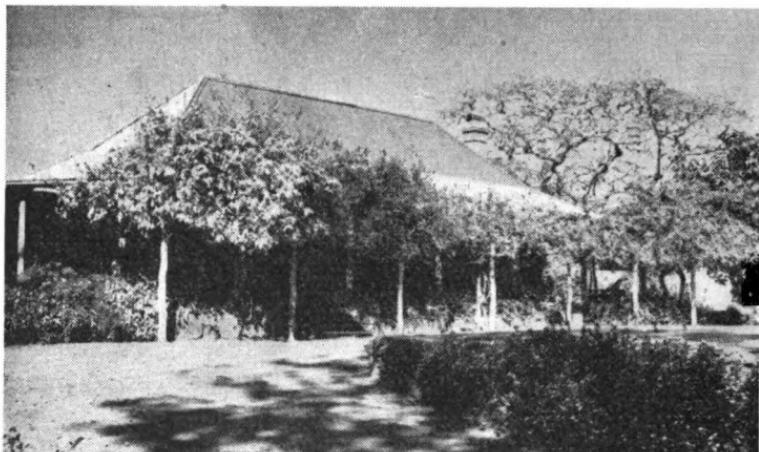
CHARLES ARCHER.
One of the pioneers of the 1850's.

. . . Charlie and I returned last week from an expedition to the Fitzroy River, where he and Willie discovered some very good

course, the Landsboroughs at Raglan. (James Landsborough of Raglan Station was the brother of William Landsborough, the explorer.) For the intimate connexion between Leichhardt's discoveries and the grazing use the Archers later put them to, we have only to remember his news of the Fitzroy River and "Peak Downs"—and how it prompted Charles Archer's own expeditions and the later move to Gracemere. (My contention here is based directly on Leichhardt's letters to the Archers of Durundur—until recently in the possession of Mr Alister Archer of Gracemere; and C. D. Cotton's *Ludwig Leichhardt*, *passim*, but especially page 202.)

country some time ago . . . the Farris run,[‡] which in my opinion is a very beautiful place for Australia. . . .

Then, two years later (July 2, 1855), the Archer party set out to occupy and stock their new run. The party that trekked from Coonambula Station was a fairly typical one, if somewhat larger than most squatters' advance parties : besides Charles and William Archer, it included 17 Europeans (among them 8 German immigrant stockmen), 2 native police troopers, 4 blackboys with their gins, 8 to 10 horses, 2 waggon-teams of 12 bullocks each—and, most important of all, 8,000 sheep.⁴ On the trek North the Archers passed the brothers Leith-Hay at Rannes, then



Oldest section of Gracemere Homestead, from the west side.

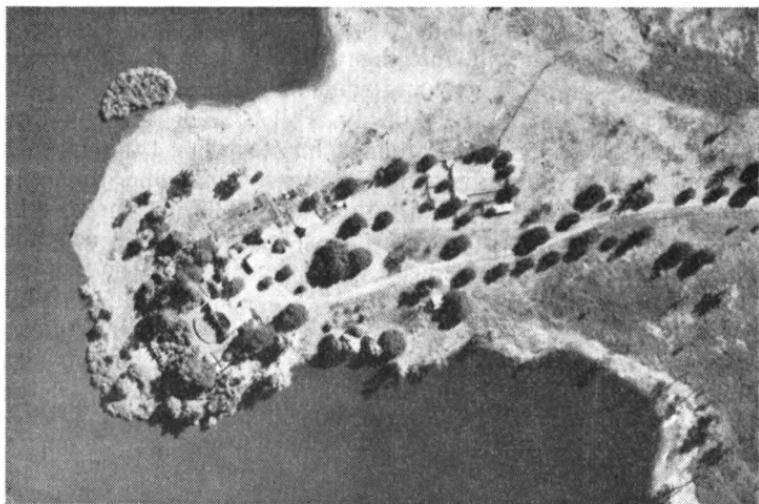
the most northerly point of settlement in what was soon to become Queensland. The Leith-Hays ran 28,000 sheep, and after each wool-clip drove their bullock-drays across country to the tiny port of Gladstone, where a few men and huts seem to have survived Colonel Barney's ill-fated and premature attempt at settlement in 1846.⁵ But it is with the Archers' arrival near the site of the present city of Rockhampton that the actual settlement of Central Queensland must be dated as beginning.

Unlike most squatters, the Archers were destined to

[‡] Later "Gracemere."

remain satisfied with their new home : for them, indeed, the farthest pastures had proved the greenest.

We have now been located upon the run for three months, during which time I have gained an accurate knowledge of its extent and quality, and I am happy to say that my previous estimate of its excellence has been quite confirmed by further acquaintance. . . . It is the only part of New South Wales (Sydney excepted) where I have ever seen anything that could be called fine scenery. . . .⁶ That was Charles Archer writing home in November, 1855, but by then the present homestead site was already singled out—a narrow neck of land running out into its water-lily-covered lagoon or “mere” (“Gracemere,” after Grace, Mrs Tom Archer)—apparently consciously chosen for its resemblance to far-off Tolderodden and its Norwegian fjord. With all the district to choose from, the Archers’ enthu-



Aerial view of Gracemere Homestead, at the end of a natural peninsula abutting into the "Mere."

siasm for their final site was nevertheless understandable ; and to-day, after nearly a century, later generations of Archers at Gracemere never regret Charles Archer’s choice.

Nor were more mundane considerations ever lost sight of by this capable family of Scotch-Norwegians : like their homestead site, the Archers’ run “picked the eyes out of the district.” Even in 1855 Gracemere was an immense holding : from the Bajool scrub in the south, roughly fol-

lowing the line of the Fitzroy River, its tree-blazed boundaries stretched away northward to present-day Morinish, a distance of about seventy miles. It included land on the seaward side of the river, but it was on the left bank that the greatest block of country lay : taking in the present site of Rockhampton, it stretched inland for almost thirty miles, finally finding its westernmost outpost at "Westwood." Even a cautious estimate must put the area of the original Gracemere run (of course, unsurveyed) at between 800 and 900 square miles : "Truly a noble domain, which many a European prince might envy !!"

But nothing about the new venture was left to chance ; indeed, it is the careful, detailed planning involved which seems most striking to-day. Two things had struck Charles Archer as auspicious : the promising grazing country for sheep throughout the 55,600 square miles of the Fitzroy's catchment area,⁸ and the cheap transport offered by the river itself—the longest and widest, after all, on the east coast of Australia. Accordingly, while Charles and William were culling their flocks and getting together their bullock teams on Coonambula, Colin Archer had gone south to Maryborough and had built the ketch *Elida*. In this he and his men sailed along the coast and up the uncharted Fitzroy, arriving at the head of navigation, off the present site of Rockhampton (where the "rocks" hindered his passage further) on September 1, 1855. Colin Archer brought much-needed provisions for the Gracemere party, and in November he returned south again—laden with the wool-bales from the first Gracemere shearing, which were to be reshipped for Sydney at the port of Gladstone. This enterprising solution of every out-back squatter's dilemma —how to find cheap transport for his wool to market—continued to provide the answer to all Gracemere's problems until, six years later, Rockhampton was proclaimed a port and the need no longer existed. . The *Elida* and the *Jenny Lind*—a brigantine later acquired by Archer & Co.—were then both disposed of.

The Archers' achievement in their first six months at Gracemere had been, thus, a very real one. They had blazed the trail north to the Fitzroy; taken up and partly stocked the best sheep-run on the coast; gone far already with their building programme at the head station; pro-

vided a regular means of transport, and even established—temporarily—their own port. Most important of all, Charles Archer had completed his first shearing, and written home to his father that he was satisfied with the progress made :

. . . The sheep, although running in a flock thrice the usual number, are doing well, so we have every reason to believe that the change from Eidsvold to this place will turn out very advantageous, looking upon it as a speculation, and it is certainly in many respects a far finer country to live in. . . .⁶

The Archers settled in the district first, and their original Gracemere holding was to dwarf all later runs, but it was not long before other families began to arrive—overlanding at first with their flocks and drays, but later in increasing numbers—making use of marine transport as the struggling little shanty-town of Rockhampton grew into a rich and flourishing river-port. By the end of the 'sixties their runs had spread over the whole district—north to St Lawrence, west to the Comet River, south to the Burnett country, east to the sea—carrying sheep and (increasingly) cattle, since cattle were not vulnerable to spear-grass and the coastal diseases which struck down sheep. By the late 'sixties, too, most of the runs were surveyed into grazing blocks, and—if the age of fences had not yet come—Crown Land rangers, free selectors, and the "farming menace" were already hard on the heels of the early pioneer flock-masters.

Generalization is, of course, dangerous in any local history, but without a certain amount of generalization it is impossible to reduce the inevitable chaos and welter of names to any sort of order and pattern of change. And a certain amount of "order" does thus appear when 1868-9 is taken as a dividing line : for 1868 and 1869 mark the end of an era in Queensland pastoral history. They were the years of the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* and the *Pastoral Leases Act*, which—with their stress on resumption of half a run and secure tenure for the rest—put a premium on "consolidation" and improvement rather than squatting expansion every few years. The age of the semi-nomadic "Shepherd-King" was drawing to a close, and the younger Archer brothers at Gracemere were no longer speaking the language Charles Archer, the Gracemere pioneer, had spoken in the early 'fifties :

. . . I gathered that you did not at all approve of the pioneering mania which had laid hold of the family again; you will therefore not be over-pleased to hear that Colin and I have ferreted out 'Peak Downs,' and marked country for some 30 or 40,000 sheep there, not, of course, with any intention of taking immediate possession. It will probably be years before that can be done with advantage, but you know, I suppose, that Government has reserved a very large tract of country round Port Curtis from occupation by squatters—this reserve, I am sorry to say, includes Farris. We still however expect to get such a tenure of the country as will make it worth our while to occupy it and, if our present plans are carried out, I shall probably start with stock next March. The Downs country we have secured as a place to fall back upon, in case we should be turned out of Farris. In any event, it will in the course of a few years turn out a valuable piece of country.

You express a hope in your last letter that we will be content with small things and leave pioneering to younger hands, but, if we are to remain in this country and follow squatting as a profession, I see nothing else for it than keeping on the move. The life would hardly be worth living in the humdrum routine of a settled station when better lands are to be had for the taking. You will readily believe me when I say it is not the expectation of gain that urges me on. . . .⁹

So might have spoken any of the North Queensland pioneers of the 'fifties—the men who had gone on "ahead," blazing great runs with only a controversial tree or mountain top to mark their boundary, only to see the vacant lands about them "filling up" as late-comers arrived with new ideas, more capital, and better flocks and herds. By 1869 few of the "old hands" remained in Central Queensland : at most homesteads there were new faces—either a new generation as at Gracemere, or an entirely new family (such as the Birkbecks at Glenmore, J. A. Macartney at Waverley, the Creeds at Langmorn) who had "bought in" after the 'fifties. The old-timers, along with their bark gunyahs and primitive business methods—their "wasteful" notions of periodical expansion, shepherds rather than fences, a total reliance on surface-water and "the will of God"—had largely disappeared from the district (or been forced to mend their ways). So closed an era in the pastoral settlement of Central Queensland; but it must never be forgotten that it was the shepherd-kings of the 'fifties who had blazed the trail and done the spade-work for later "closer" settlement. Their primitive methods were the natural reaction to a primitive environment and their own time, and their story must be the first—and

largest—chapter in any account of pastoral settlement in this district.

Until Separation in 1859, Central Queensland's land system was that of New South Wales, and it is significant that one of the first acts of the new Queensland Legislature was to pass the *Crown Lands Occupation Act* of 1860—and amendment of the “nefarious system whereby the fruits of the explorers' labours have been reaped from the drawing-rooms of Sydney.”¹⁰ This refers, of course, to city speculators who took up (by proxy) vast stretches of new country, forcing the advancing squatters either to move further out in search of unoccupied land or “buy” the speculator's tender before settling—in either case, greatly adding to the squatter's troubles and the consequent dispersal of settlement. The *Act* was promoted by Sir Robert Ramsay Mackenzie of Kinellan (himself an old squatter, and—perhaps equally significantly—the father-in-law of both James Archer and Alexander Archer),¹¹ but it came too late to affect the early settlement of the best grazing areas in Central Queensland. Between 1855 and 1860 this “nefarious system” was given full play here and in the near West, and—perhaps more than any other single factor—helped to mould pastoral settlement here into the “dispersed” form it at first took.

Criticism of these absentee tenders for land—and resultant inconvenience to genuine squatting settlement—figures prominently in all the diaries and journals of the time. William Young, for instance—forced to go far afield before he found his Mount Larcombe run—leaves a bitter comment, quoted by Edward Palmer¹² :

The reason for those of the advance guard pushing out so far was . . . the tendering system for runs then in force. By this system, those who marked out country could hold it unstocked, and unless a few hundred pounds were paid by them for the right of actual occupation, the pioneers in search of land had to go out further. Prospecting thus for new country without any intention of stocking it, but merely of selling the information and the claim to the country to anyone in search of a run for their stock, became a regular speculation.

P. F. MacDonald rather more eloquently complained of much the same thing in his own diary (Canoona, March 8, 1858) :

I have just returned from an expedition which I shall never forget. We left Marlborough the last week in November, with five weeks' rations, and travelled westward in view of Lake Salvator. . . .

I believe that 100 to 200 miles back from the coast the land is superior to any part of Australia, except some stations in Victoria, that I have yet seen, either for sheep or cattle. Nearly one-fourth of the country over which we travelled is unavailable for pastoral purposes in consequence of thick scrub, great scarcity of water, and innumerable native dogs and savage blacks, yet nearly the whole of it has already been taken up by speculative, or better known as "drawing-room" tenders, chiefly from Sydney gentlemen, to secure the river frontages by copying the descriptions taken from the journals of Sir Thomas Mitchell and Leichhardt. . . .*

Legally hindered squatting perhaps was, until Sir Robert MacKenzie's 1860 legislation brought with it conditional security and a fourteen years' lease, but, for all that, pastoral expansion went on uninterruptedly in the 'fifties. In 1855, when the Archers went north, they found that hitherto the two most advanced stations were Rannes and Rio Stations on the Dawson. Rio figures a year later in the diary of the explorer William Landsborough; for, alongside "the 22nd November, 1856," is the entry :

At 8 o'clock came to a dray track, which was followed east-north-east two miles to Messrs Conner and Fitz's station, where they gave me a most hospitable reception. This was at Rio Station, on the Dawson River. . . .¹³

From these places as starting-points, twelve months later, a wave of overlanders with their flocks were to follow in the Archers' wake into the Fitzroy Valley—amongst them Dan Conner of Rio himself, bound in turn for Marlborough, Princhester, Willangie, and Collaroy.

In the meantime, however, the Elliots were the first to arrive after the Archers. William ("Nobby") Elliott and his nephew George ("Boomer") Elliott trekked north in 1855 with 4,000 sheep, and until they had picked out a place of their own they camped on the Archers' run, four miles from Gracemere homestead.¹⁴ There, in January, 1856, their camp was attacked by blacks; one stockman was killed and William Elliott wounded before the "siege" was raised. At Gracemere to-day there is an unfinished and unsigned letter, apparently written at the time by Charles Archer, and particularly interesting as a commentary on the view held by "Exeter Hall" opinion in Melbourne and

* P. F. MacDonald, though perhaps inconvenienced by these same "drawing-room tenders," nevertheless did fairly well personally. Of the country he describes, he himself later took up and held Fernlees, Marmadilla, and Columbia.

Sydney that the Australian aborigines were peaceful and "harmless" if unprovoked—and incapable, anyway, of concerted action :

I do myself the honour to inform you that upon the night of Tuesday the — January the blacks made a most determined and systematic attack upon the Messrs. Elliott who are now encamped with their stock upon my run within four miles of my head station.

The number of the aborigines supposed to have been present at the attack has been estimated at about 100. They advanced in several bodies upon different parts of the camp at the same time



ALISTER ARCHER,

Son of James Archer, son of one of the pioneers, present owner of Gracemere. Portion of the well-known Gracemere carved fireplace (carved by Mrs. Robert Archer and her daughter) is shown in the illustration.

and were not driven back until they had killed one man—and severely wounded W. Elliott. . . . The main body it is now ascertained is encamped on the North side of the Fitzroy River where the police cannot reach it except by a very circuitous route and where the strength of the Blacks is being daily increased by the arrival of other tribes who—I am informed by the peaceable natives upon my station—are assembling for the professed and undisguised purpose

of another attack upon either my station or upon the Messrs Elliott's . . .

The Elliotts remained on Gracemere, "beleagured," until April, 1856, when they moved northward up the river and took up Canoona and Tilpal runs for themselves.

Even before this William Young had taken up his Mount Larcombe Station (May 29, 1855), and in 1855 Colin Campbell Mackay, with his partner Mackenzie, arrived in the district and put 10,000 sheep on land they had taken up on the northern end of the Gracemere run, at Morinish. (To-day, there are still Mackays on Bighouse, Morinish, the original holding.) But it was not until 1857 that the first real wave of settlement arrived. Peter Fitz-allan MacDonald ("P.F.") in that year went up river as far as Yaamba, and there the run he took up—Yemeappo—is to-day still in the hands of the MacDonald family.

But the great majority of squatters who "moved in" during the 'fifties came with no such resolute intentions to settle permanently on the runs they had taken up. Thus Dan Conner, formerly of Rio, took up in quick succession Marlborough, Princhester, and Willangie Stations, and finally Collaroy.

Henning purchased Marlborough from him, and Van Wesseem purchased and formed Princhester. Willangie was sold by Conner to Angus and George Hurst (Hurst Brothers), who were step-sons of Fitz. . . .¹³

Soon afterwards, Willangie was again sold—this time to a Mr Mark Christian.

At Canoona, meanwhile, much the same thing was happening : retaining Tilpal, the Elliotts had by 1858 sold Canoona Station to J. B. P. Hamilton-Ramsay and Harry Gaden, who in turn "went down" in the 1860 drought, and were bought out by a Mr Vicary. This same pattern of quickly buy and quickly sell was repeated almost everywhere : comparatively few squatters felt, like the Archers and P. F. MacDonald, that they had "come to stay." In Colin Archer's journal¹⁵ there is an interesting reference to the contemporary wave of speculative buying and selling :

July 15, 1859 : We now ran up that creek and made our outward track when we camped and next day passed Marlborough and reached Princhester. Here we were informed that the station had been sold to a Mr Radford—a stranger to us—who had taken possession but was away looking for lost sheep and that Conner was camped on a block of country he had on the Fitzroy.

4th August : Princhester is we hear sold again with 15,000 sheep @ 20/- (a head)—a rattling price. Only 13,000 sheep were delivered and for the deficiency—were refunded. The estimates of the capabilities of the run vary from 15,000 to 25,000 sheep. Assuming the latter as the most correct the price is unprecedented for an outside run with few improvements and those very indifferent. *This is no doubt the way to make money. Stock and sell.*¹⁵

The same pattern of constant change, of stations changing hands every few years and owners "moving on," is repeated with monotonous regularity in the early history of the district. Thus in the *Reminiscences* of John Arthur Macartney (who arrived here at the end of 1857) we find :

. . . I then returned to Gracemere; but later, in company with Mr Campbell, who had put in a tender for a portion of Waverley, I went to Broadsound. I bought his interest in the tender he had put in for Waverley. . . .¹⁴

"Mr Campbell" was evidently one of these "blazers of the trail" who went on ahead, sold, and then moved on again :

Torilla, now owned by Rogers Brothers, was originally taken up by Messrs Campbell and Newman, the former being the man I bought out at Waverley.¹⁶

J. A. Macartney himself remained on at Waverley until 1896; but Glenmore had a more chequered career. J. A. Macartney took it up in December, 1858, only to sell two years later—" . . . I lived between Waverley and Glenmore until October, 1860, when I sold Glenmore to Messrs. Ker and Clark. . . ."²⁰—and in July, 1861 (within another nine months), Ker and Clark themselves disposed of the place to the Birkbecks,²¹ who still own Glenmore to-day.

In 1858, also, the squatting contingent in this district received two important additions to its ranks. For in this year the Atherton family arrived in the district, overlanding with their drays and 1,500 head of cattle. First taking up Rosewood (sold in October, 1865, to Archer & Co.),* they then crossed the river; John Atherton there took up and held Mount Hedlow for many years, and James Atherton formed Adelaide Park, nearest the coast.²² (The latter to-day is the property of the Morgan family, descended maternally from the Athertons.) About the same

* To-day, at Gracemere, Mr Alister Archer retains the Agreement of Sales for Rosewood Station. James Atherton was paid £6,557/3/9, the price being assessed from the number of sheep, on the basis of 17/- a head.

time, too, one of this district's most colourful families arrived—the Rosses. Andrew Ross took up Balnagowan run; one of his sons, James, formed Rasberry Creek; and another son, Robert, took up country on Keppel Bay—the famous runs of Cawarral, Taranganba, and Mulambin, near Emu Park.²³

By slow stages—of which, for the most part, no records remain to-day, apart from chance references in more complete records such as those of the Archers, Birkbecks, and J. A. Macartney—the district was becoming more settled. Thus, entered in an old Gracemere account book in Colin Archer's handwriting, is a copy of a letter to the Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, Sydney (dated January 1, 1859). It is an interesting example of how—before the 1860 *Act*—"tenders" could be bought and sold, the newcomer being obliged to "buy" from the man who had "got in first" on large areas which had been tendered for, never stocked, and held back for sale until the time was ripe :

Having disposed of the lease of my runs named in the margin (Kroombit, North Kariboe, and South Kariboe), situated in the Port Curtis District to Mr John Landsborough of Larcom Vale, Port Curtis, I have the honour to request that you will allow the lease of the said run, and my whole interest therein, to be transferred from my name to his, in the books of your office. . . . Colin Archer.

Certainly, from other sources,¹⁷ we know that by 1860 Mr and Mrs James Landsborough were at Raglan Station, dispensing hospitality with a lavish hand; and in 1862 they took up Langmorn also.

The property included several small holdings—Lodi, Marengo, and Trafalgar—and these were leased to James Clark, but in 1869 all were consolidated into Langmorn. Raglan and Langmorn then became one property and taking in also Larcom Vale, San Jose and Stevenston were known as Raglan Station. . . .¹⁸

By 1869 Thomas and George Creed had bought into Langmorn, which the Creed family still owns to-day.

Historically, it is unfortunate that we know so little about the remaining runs in Central Queensland and the squatters who took them up. Some of the runs themselves have long since "disappeared" without leaving any other records than a passing reference in the diary of some neighbour who has been more careful—or more fortunate: in many cases the run has been cut up, the homestead itself no longer exists, even in name, and even the site being nearly forgotten. Such a case is the Archers' Durundur

(where a chimney-stack remains); but Mount Hedlow, Canoona, Cawarral, Mulambin are all "names" that have long since ceased to be "stations." In other cases—Princhester, Torilla, Walloon, Kianga, Rannes, to name but a few—the run has changed hands, which has usually meant that, from lack of interest, the incoming family has not troubled to preserve continuity of record.

Thus, though enumeration is not history, for at least a quarter of the early runs one can do little but refer to Lands Office Lists or the *Government Gazette* to learn who held the pastoral license at any given time. Thus, in 1861 we know²⁵ that Calliuugal was held by Hugh Robison, Banana by H. Barton, Kianga by Mrs McNab, Walloon by A. Ferguson, Camboon by J. Reid (who sold to the Bells of Coochin Coochin in 1874).²⁶ At the same time, Kooingal (once offered to J. A. Macartney by Colin Archer—and refused)²⁴ was held by J. Fraser; Torilla (later Rogers Brothers') by Campbell and Newbold. From the same list we learn that by then the brothers Leith-Hay had sold Rannes to Howard St George; that the Elliotts were still at Tilpal, though Canoona was now held by a Mr T. Vicary; and that "H. Van Wessem" was still the owner of Princhester.²⁵ From a reference to Princhester and its owner in a Mail Route itinerary,²⁶ we know that Van Wessem was still there in 1866; and in the Gracemere accounts²⁷ there is an entry to the effect that "Mr Van Wessem" bought 44 steers from Archer & Co. in August of that year. In Alfredo Birkbeck's diary of 1870²⁸ there is an interesting (though undated) entry :

... El padre Murley estubo aqui, Enrique volvio esta manana con T. Atherton. . . . Ibamos a herrar becerros cuando el senor Van Wessem estuba aqui pero no pudimos por la lluvia. . . . Otherwise no mention at all remains of the Van Wessems : apart from their interesting name and the fact that they held Princhester for nearly a decade, we know nothing for certain about them—who they were, where they came from, and where they eventually went after leaving Princhester. Much of the same disappointing result must apply, far too often, to many of the early holders of runs in this district who "came and went"—among them, at least half the names just quoted in the list for 1861.

The 'fifties and 'sixties—particularly the very early years—of course, had characteristics not found in later and

more settled times. But in Central Queensland the first stage of settlement—the “roughneck” period of enormous runs and bark humpies, no fences, no windmills, and stark ruin when a drought came—ended rather sooner than in most districts. This was the effect of an artificial circumstance—that proverbial “hoax” and false alarm, the Canoona Gold Rush of 1858—which nevertheless had far-reaching results. For it left 15,000 disappointed diggers virtually stranded at the head of navigation of the Fitzroy River; and, though many returned south, many more were unable to do so, and Rockhampton by 1870 had become a flourishing river-port of about 7,000 people.³⁰ In other words, into a rich district taken up in great estates by a land-holding class extremely desirous of turning itself into a settled squattocracy* was suddenly dropped a bustling, disappointed, democratic community, seething with all the usual “dangerous notions” which people had come to connect with the disappointed miner in “land-locked” pastoral districts around the Victorian mining fields. A few years later the elder William Archer, manager of Gracemere, was to write of “the avidity with which lands are selected on our runs, in consequence of their proximity to the populous neighbourhood of Rockhampton,”³¹ and in a subsequent interview with a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly he said that

... on the last occasion (of a resumption) applications for selections were five or six deep on the portion that I gave up. . . .³²

This “growth and development,” which in the ordinary course of events might have gone on for years, came to Rockhampton virtually overnight, and must largely explain the relatively early maturity of land settlement in Central Queensland.

In a pastoral community there is of course a natural tendency to look back upon the “Early Days” with some nostalgia; rightly or wrongly, they come to be regarded as a “Golden Age”—“the good old days.” In Central Queensland, with one important qualification, this is largely true : for the squatters of the ‘fifties and ‘sixties were

* “We are great aristocrats here, being the very earliest settlers—in fact my uncles discovered the whole country twenty years ago, and named the spot on which Rockhampton now stands,” young William Archer (later the critic of Ibsen fame) wrote home rather naively while on a visit to his Australian uncles.³³

indeed free from many of the worries of later generations. Once the ten-pound depasturing license fee was paid, questions of *land tenure* did not greatly worry the early Archers or their neighbours; thorny problems might trouble legalistic Legislative Councillors in the south ("Brisbane attorneys," as Separatist-minded Central Queenslanders were beginning to call them³³), but such forensic quibbling seldom descended into the realms of practical politics, for as yet the squatters of the north were not troubled by fears of closer settlement—as Darling Downs pastoralists already were. The worries of "difficult" Crown Land Rangers, free selectors, and a land tax all belonged to the distant future. The early settlers enjoyed other advantages too : with no leftward Liberal or Labor groups in the Legislative Assembly, they were free to import cheap labour at will—Chinese shepherds in the 'fifties, and then poverty-stricken Germans from Hamburg or Kanakas from the Islands. Connected with this *laissez faire* immigration policy, of course, was the early political dominance of the pastoral interest in the Brisbane Legislative Council—what an old pioneer, Oscar de Satge of Peak Downs, has quaintly called "the prominent influence of squatters in the first Queensland Governments."³⁴

But the one qualification I appended to this glowing picture of an earlier Golden Age is, one must admit, an important one. Briefly, it is that the 'fifties—the age of unrestricted squatting, great chances, and occasionally great returns—was (looked at from another angle) also the age of wasteful expansionism and shortsighted exploitation, great hazards, no improvements and so great losses when the drought came, and, consequently, frequent bankruptcies. Few families managed to hang on to their old prosperity as the Archers did until late in the century, or even so grow steadily wealthier—as P. F. MacDonald continued to do. The story of Harry Gaden, of Canoona, was in those days a far more common one. In his book on Boer subsistence farming in South Africa, de Kiewiet has remarked that such an "unimproved agriculture" was in the early days the natural reaction to primitive conditions, though not desirable in a more modern age; and so it was with the Australian squatter. The specialization and "improvement" that came with closer settlement was, of course, out of the question for the early flock-masters;

but on that account it should never be lost sight of that pastoral organization here in the 'fifties and 'sixties was primitive, wasteful, full of risks and—let us admit it—not very efficient (if we judge, not very fairly, by the standards of later times). The Archers and MacDonalds and Creeds of to-day might have more Government interference, heavier taxation (and therefore fewer spectacular returns) and far more general "irritants" than their grand-parents did; but at the same time they have much more security, fewer risks, an incalculably greater efficiency, and consequently far surer returns.

"Pastoral Settlement" in the 1850's differed radically from pastoral settlement as we know it to-day, and that fundamental difference is nowhere more obvious than in the different conceptions of a grazier's "expansion." Then, expansion invariably meant that the squatter was taking up more country, which—in those days of plentiful land—was, after all, a more natural reaction than an unwonted outlay on increasing his old run's carrying capacity. To-day, "expansion" can equally well mean that the already prosperous grazier is sinking back improvements into his property and raising its former carrying capacity.

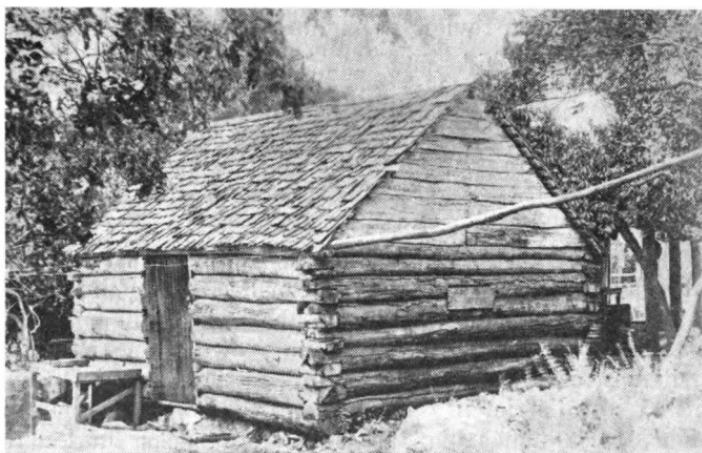
The outstanding feature of grazing (or "depasturing") as then understood was, of course, the enormous areas comprised in each station—nearly all totally unimproved. The Archers at Gracemere originally held country which could not have been less than 900 square miles, and on that vast area they ran (in 1855) just 8,000 sheep. Of course, citing 1855 figures can hardly give a fair picture of typical conditions on an early run; but by 1868 Gracemere had been surveyed and "consolidated" into twelve blocks. This, the more historical Gracemere, then comprised 266 square miles (170,240 acres), or 336 square miles with the recently purchased Rosewood and Moah runs included; and the annual rent paid to the Crown for that vast area was exactly £547.³⁵ From the Gracemere stock returns for September, 1861, we learn that 28,203 sheep and 5,748 cattle were on the run.³⁶ In other words—on this rich Fitzroy Valley grassland, equal to any on the coast—slightly over six acres went to every head of the Archers' stock. There were, too, virtually no improvements; for,

in the same period (July 10, 1868) we find in a sworn valuation of the assets of Archer & Co. that . . . the total value of improvements of Gracemere run on which the pre-emptive purchases of Messrs. Archer are based is £1,753/14/6. . . .³⁷

Then follows an enumeration of these "improvements": homestead buildings, shepherds' huts, woolsheds, station equipment generally. But no windmills, dams, or wells.

Gracemere—although on a larger scale—is only typical of a tendency observable everywhere. Five miles up the river from Rockhampton, Glenmore likewise took in a vast area:

Glenmore . . . the country between the watershed of Alligator Creek and Moore's Creek . . . took in Moore's Creek, Belmont, Ramsay, Kalka, and other creeks, and went down practically to Lake's Creek. In other words, Glenmore comprised that country between Lake's Creek and the watershed of Alligator Creek at Mount Etna, having the river as a frontage and the watershed as a boundary on the north and east. . . .³⁸



The original log blockhouse erected at Glenmore by J. A. Macartney and Sir John Macartney, Bart., before the Birkbecks. Probably the oldest remaining building in Central Queensland.

Even after being partially resumed (and losing the area now built on as "North Rockhampton"), in 1863 Glenmore still comprised 75 square miles.³⁹ Yet, when S. B. Birkbeck came to this district in July, 1861, he found the whole place "up" for just £2,000:

I have therefore entered into a bargain to give £1,000 on Delivery, and £1,000 at 18 month on condition of their securing

me the renewal of the lease for five years from next January. . . . They (i.e. the vendors, Messrs Ker and Clark) give no stock, but the improvements are thrown in. The annual rent will be about £90 depending on a valuation to be made at the end of the year, and any improvements will be paid for, on the station being resumed by Government or leased to another party. . . .⁴⁰

Elsewhere, under a stock return in the Glenmore Day Book,⁴¹ we find that in June, 1864, the Birkbecks were running 1,890 cattle and 4,790 sheep—or just over eight acres to each head of stock.

As a parallel phenomenon to this prevalence of sparsely stocked and imperfectly exploited "open spaces," one must expect to find a deficiency in the actual quality of the stock.

In the fifties and early sixties the sheep introduced were of inferior quality. Some good specimens entered from the New England and other districts, but the majority were culled females from the large flocks of the Darling Downs.⁴²

The first Gracemere sheep were of course from Coonambula, and to these were added, in the 'fifties, imported rams of the coarse-haired Negretti type. A little further down in this same review is an interesting commentary on the whole situation :

The present-day weight of fleece is double that produced in the sixties. Official figures show that in 1876 the average weight was 5 lb. for a fairly clean greasy fleece. . . .⁴³

Even this estimate is apparently too generous, judging from Gracemere and Glenmore stock-books of the 'fifties and 'sixties.

The writer of the article cited above apparently thought that 5 lbs. was an average "weight of fleece" for the middle of the last century. Perhaps that was true of other districts—even Central Queensland's own "Far West"—but it most certainly does not apply to the Central Queensland coastal district in the neighbourhood of Rockhampton. Taken at random from the Gracemere books, under the heading "Specifications of Wool, 1862-3," there is the entry :

Average Price 2/2 per lb.

60,871 lbs. off 25,375 sheep or 21 lbs. 9/25 ozs. per sheep.⁴⁴

In no place does this average yield improve, but occasionally it sinks still lower. Thus in the Specification of Wool for 1861-2 comes the entry, "63,859 lbs. off 27,796 sheep, or 2 lbs. 4 21/27 ozs. per sheep." Later, the Gracemere flocks nearly doubled in size—31,230 sheep in June, 1865; 43,131 in December, 1865; rising to an all-time peak of

48,363 in March, 1866.⁴⁴—but the average yield of fleece did not increase likewise. Only after the purchase of Minnie Downs by Archer & Co., and the transfer of their sheep from Gracemere to the new western country (which took place between 1872 and 1874), did the *quality* of the flocks materially improve; for by the late 'seventies, when Tasmanian stud rams were introduced into the Archer flocks,⁴² attention was everywhere being turned more to a selective breeding—the “improved” grazing mentioned earlier.

At Glenmore one finds much the same thing as at Gracemere. In J. A. McCartney's day the average yield was on a par with the returns from Gracemere, Rosewood, and all the other great, sprawling, unfenced runs of the 'fifties.⁴⁵ But after S. B. Birkbeck came to Glenmore in 1861—with an American and Mexican tradition behind him of a more improved “stock-farming”—there is a change. In his diary for July, 1865 (when he was inspecting Glenmore prior to purchase), there is an entry which contains promise of future “improvement”:

... The head station (i.e. Glenmore) is five miles from R'ton, a miserable place, but the land and its capabilities took my fancy. The dry ridges appear suited for sheep, and the low lands unsurpassed for cattle. About 25 miles river frontage, with two large bights by means of which large paddocks can be fenced at little expense. I could not examine the whole run for want of time, but the neighbourhood of Rockhampton which promises to be a good market and a navigable river and the general high opinion of the Station &c have induced me to determine on the purchase. . . .⁴⁰

That strikes a new note in Central Queensland grazing history. Then, two months later, we find a further indication that S. B. Birkbeck was planning for something better than a happy-go-lucky “frontier” stock-raising:

... I have also contracted with Brewster for 1500 head of cattle from Noveena on the Barwon—2 to 6 years old—equal sexes, to be selected by me or my agent and to be delivered at risk of seller, at Glenmore, for 40/- each. . . . Having engaged John Sutherland as overseer at 30/- a week I have this day dispatched him with Carlos to select the good breeding cattle at Noveena. . . .⁴⁶

By 1866, in consequence, S. B. Birkbeck had raised the average weight of fleece to 3.73 lbs.⁴¹; but, after that, spear-grass and lung-worm began to take their toll, and after 1867 (when S. B. Birkbeck died) the Glenmore books were not entered up in the same detail as before, and generalization becomes more difficult.

The same primitive conditions that prevailed on the early "sheep-walks" applied largely to cattle, too. A pastoral review in 1936⁴⁷ noted "the great value of the now despised scrub cattle" in the early grazing history of this district, adding that "pioneer cattle have played a most important role in the moulding of Central Queensland's great cattle industry."⁴⁷ The stud herds of Herefords, Shorthorns, Red-polls all followed later—and so too did the markets. For in the early days by far the most serious limiting factor to the expansion of the beef cattle industry was this lack of an economic market. The limited Australian market could easily be oversupplied, and it was not until the perfection of shipboard freezing in the 1880's that expansion on a great scale became practicable. In the early days this was always the worry.



S. B. BIRKBECK, THE BUILDER OF GLENMORE.

There was practically no market for cattle or stock other than the local butchers, and after a particularly good season cattle were sold for boiling down at Laurel Bank and Pattison's for as low as 5/- for bullocks and 4/6 for cows plus 1/6 for the tongues. Tallow and hides were shipped to London, but whale oil was a

serious competition to tallow and there was little profit from this source. In the quest for an outlet for their stock Mr Creed (of Langmorn) recalls cattle being shipped from Gladstone to New Caledonia and Sydney, as far back at the 60's. . . .⁴⁸

The Golden Age of the Australian beef cattle industry did not of course come until after the *Strathleven's* successful voyage in 1880,⁴⁹ but, nevertheless, from the earliest days cattle figured largely in the stock returns of every large station in the Central Queensland District. In June, 1866, for instance, when the Birkbecks had 6,885 sheep on Glenmore, they also ran 1,750 cattle⁵⁰; and from the beginning there were herds at Gracemere. One of the earliest "joint" entries is for October, 1858, when the Archers ran 24,781 sheep and 2,867 head of cattle; by July, 1859, the numbers had risen to 26,603 sheep and 4,104 cattle.⁵¹ Throughout the 'sixties the number of cattle depastured increased steadily : 6,168 in June, 1862; 6,939 in June, 1865; 8,491 in September, 1866; 10,862 in June, 1867; 11,063 in June, 1868. Apart from the numerical increase, there were by then other indications that in Central Queensland the future held brighter prospects for beef than for wool; but the fact remains that in this, the first stage of pastoral settlement, the typical squatter *was* a man who held a large and unimproved "mixed" run, carrying frequently a fine (and usually increasing) herd of "scrubby" cattle, but in the long run dependent predominantly upon his sheep. And those sheep were almost invariably (judged by modern standards) of an inferior quality,⁴⁷ with fleeces seldom rising above a third of a very "average" modern yield.

Bearing in mind the comparatively "unimproved" nature of both flocks and runs, some of the financial returns may seem surprisingly large, and the dividends—at least from Gracemere—spectacular. Charles Archer wrote home to his father :

If money continues to tumble in upon the family as it has done lately, I should not be surprised to see a second Tolderodden spring up here, with its boat harbour and other adjuncts. . . . For Central Queensland undoubtedly was booming in the 'fifties.* In a report addressed to the Colonial Secretary and dated July, 1859, Sir Maurice O'Connell (Government Resident at Gladstone)⁵⁵ remarked on the "great impulse

* "Even at the beginning of that epoch Rockhampton was thriving and prosperous. . . .⁵³

given to the permanent pastoral occupation of the country." He added :

During the present year, unoccupied runs to the northward have suddenly acquired a high value; many settlers from Port Phillip—having been convinced, either by their own observation or from the reports of those who visited it last year, of the value of the country for pastoral purposes—have acquired properties in it; and altogether there is said to be at the present moment at least one hundred thousand sheep arrived or arriving to occupy the country to the northward of the Fitzroy."⁵²

A visitor from the south, who arrived by the Archers' *Elida* on Christmas Eve, 1859, wrote soon after in a southern newspaper :

. . . The business transacted during my stay must have been immense, for every store and hotel were continually crowded. The exports from Rockhampton last season were from 700 to 800 bales of wool,[†] with two shipments of cattle and sheep to New Caledonia. . . .⁵³

And in 1860, when the Governor, Sir George Bowen, visited Rockhampton, he commented on

. . . the great resources and bright prospects of this district, the rapid progress which it has recently made, and the extraordinary development of its productive powers, notwithstanding the paucity of its present population. . . .^{54‡}

Sir Maurice O'Connell—a relative of the Archers—could, with good reason, speak of "the great impulse given to the permanent pastoral occupation of the country."⁵² From the Eidsvold and Coonambula days in the early 'fifties, and well into the 'nineties, the returns of Archer & Co. mounted steadily. A typical Gracemere clip in the 'fifties (1859-60) gave 38,236 lbs. of clean fleece from 21,677 sheep at an average price of just under 24 pence a pound; but by the 1861-2 shearing the yield was up to 63,859 lbs. off 27,796 sheep (or 2 lbs. 4 21/27 ozs. per sheep) at "an average price of 2/1½ per lb. for the whole parcel of 137 bales."^{55a} And in the 'sixties, with the stock returns mounting from year to year (to 45,356 sheep in 1865 and 48,363 in March, 1866), the wool-clip increased proportion-

[†] 237 of them from the Archer holdings!⁴³

[‡] The international background to this "extraordinary development" was, of course, the steadily recovering wool market in London, which (if it seldom averaged more than about 2/2 per lb. for Central Queensland wool-clips in the 'fifties and 'sixties) at least never fell again to the ruinous 1843 levels—when, so the Archer brothers (then on the Walkers' Wallerowang Estate in New South Wales) wrote home to Tolderrodden, sheep were "going at sixpence per head, and the station thrown in."⁵⁶

ately—even though, by the late 'sixties, there were increasing references to a new scourge, spear-grass, and more and more of the wool-clip was being marked off as "seedy." But with each year the growing herds of cattle compensated for losses in the sheep, for even in 1859 Colin Archer had been able to write in his journal :

Simon started this morning with his party for Moreton Bay. . . . I hope he shall have a pleasant journey and bring out a good lot of cattle, which despised stock appears to me to pay remarkably well as we are situated here. I suppose we sell £35 to £40 worth of beef dead and alive every week. I sell fat cows @ £7 apiece delivered at Rockhampton. Bullocks, of which we are getting rather short, £9. . . .⁵⁷

Nothing illustrates better the "extraordinary development" to which Governor Bowen referred than references to contemporary figures in the Gracemere books. Throughout the 'fifties and 'sixties the Gracemere returns mounted steadily, until they reached the consistently high figures of the 'seventies; 1872 was the best single year, with a gross turnover of £23,025/8/3 for the months ending on December 31, and nett receipts of £20,936/17/10.⁵⁸

"Working expenses" seem to have been unusually light that year, if we compare expenses for the years June, 1868—June, 1869 (£10,334/3/6), and June, 1870—June, 1871 (£6,460/2/4),⁵⁹ and remember that under "Sheep Property" alone (without the cattle stockmen's wages) the wages lists for the years June, 1869—June, 1870, and June, 1870—June, 1871, were £4,467/19/2 and £1,873/12/6.⁶⁰ The answer seems to be that by 1872 (when the mass transfer of the Archers' sheep from Gracemere to the west was well under way) the working expenses for sheep on Gracemere had dropped considerably,* for all through the 'seventies working expenses *are* lower; and it also seems that there were many "hidden expenses"—examples of out-stations on the Gracemere run, such as "the heifer station" ("Nankeen") and "the cattle station" (Archer), paying many of their own expenses, under the all-embracing heading of "sundries," before remitting the balance to the head station (Gracemere). This certainly happened with the "Horse Account," wherein "Expenses" (wages, "equipment," etc.), along with the inevitable "sundries," were deducted directly from

* Compare the similar drop from £4,467/19/2 in 1870 to £1,873/12/6 in 1871.

receipts from the sale of horse stock.⁵⁸ At all events, the figure for the 1872 nett profits (£20,936/17/10) is certain, and must stand.

I have cited the figures for 1872 in detail because, though slightly higher than most, they are fairly representative for the whole period. Thus in 1866 nett receipts from Gracemere were £14,060/1/6,⁵⁸ a very "average" year—comparing unfavourably with even the record month (October, 1879), when the gross turnover was £4,344/15/9, yielding a clear profit of £4,095/3/5.⁵⁸ In the early period the worst single year was 1869 (the result of the drought which commenced in 1868); but even then, with a gross intake of £12,347/1/6, there was a "modest profit" £2,219/5/-) and no deficit.⁵⁸ It is in this period that William Archer (then Manager for Archer & Co.) wrote home from Gracemere, crestfallen, to his brother Colin at Tolderodden :

... and now comes the part of the story that will affect you all most seriously; but if you have not turned a deaf ear to what I have before written you cannot say it comes without good warning. What with consolidations, land buying to protect our interests in some measure, and fencing, and drought, and our own inability to make sales almost at any price, fall in price of wool &c &c I have determined to reduce the interest payable to partners from 8 to 5 pr. ct. on the capital . . . and let me tell the grumblers, if any there be amongst you, that if they could but see the numbers of people all around us that are being forced out of their stations by the hardness of the times after struggling for years to keep their heads above water they would be only too thankful to conform to the reduction I intend to make. . . .⁶⁰

This same prosperity is reflected in prices paid for stations themselves—usually a sure pointer to the prosperity of a *settled* pastoral district. In the very early days it had been easier, and cheaper, for newcomers to trek overland and squat for themselves "further out," rather than "buy in" on an already settled run; but later, with all the good land taken up, there was no alternative, and prices soared accordingly. "£1 per head for every sheep on a property was the way they generally gauged things," wrote J. A. Macartney of Waverley in 1896 when describing some of the early station deals.¹⁴⁵

Roughly, that seems true, judging from evidence in the Archer and Birkbeck and Costello records. As early as May, 1858, for instance, Archibald Cameron paid the Archers £8,161/15/8 for 10,000 mixed sheep and the runs

of Coonambula, St John's, Malmo and Mundouran, including £661/15/8 worth of "improvements."⁶¹ Then, just seven years later (October, 1865), the Archers themselves paid James Atherton "£6,557/3/9 for Rosewood Station at 17/- per head."⁶² In the same period (the early 'sixties) the Birkbeck Papers offer similar evidence. When S. B. Birkbeck first came to this district (July, 1861) he found Glen Prairie (200 square miles) was on the market for £3,200, unstocked, "and improvements to be taken at a valuation"; and Gogango, similarly, was "up"—"the price, or terms, 10,000 sheep at 17/- after shearing."⁶³ With no previous Australian experience, Birkbeck turned down both these chances (they are still fine stations to-day) and paid instead £2,000 for Glenmore, unstocked, and not particularly good country at that. The entire business (at least on the part of Messrs Ker and Clark, who sold) was what a writer in the Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin* has since called "a rather sagacious proceeding,"

. . . for at that time it must have been evident that much of the run would soon be resumed for town requirements. . . .⁶⁴

These prices, of course, all relate to the early days—before the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1868⁶⁵ and the *Pastoral Leases Act*⁶⁶ gave security of tenure and encouraged higher selling prices for runs. In the later period, for instance, the Archers, when they sold Minnie Downs, received £60,000 for the whole station—almost as much as the entire capital of Archer & Co. twenty years before. And so early as 1877 the Costellos bought the Rosses' old station, Cawarral "(of 12,000 acres of freehold, fenced, and improved land carrying 3,000 cattle . . .)" for £19,000.⁶⁷ On his Australian visit in 1876, the younger William Archer constantly refers to the high prices realized on even leasehold pastoral holdings.

. . . To show how property increases in value in the Colony, I may instance the case of Peak Downs run. It is about the size of Berwickshire, and 20 years ago it was sold unstocked by the person who first took it up for £800. About five years ago, Mr F—— (of Melbourne) bought it for, I believe, £15,000, and a few months ago he was offered for it no less than £118,000. Of course, the increased quantity of stock, and the improvements etc. on the run have contributed to this increase in value, but it must be remembered that the station has been producing an enormous interest on the capital invested in it during the whole time. . . .⁶⁸

In the same way—and for the same reason—the valuations of Gracemere over the years throw light on contem-

porary values. Thus, in the 'fifties and 'sixties (before the age of *Land Acts*, resumptions, and free selectors) the value of Gracemere kept about the £60,000 level. The 1868 valuation is a typical one : 41,259 sheep at 9/7½ each went down at £19,927/13/6; 10,342 cattle at £27,355/16/-; and horses and working oxen at £1,486 and £344 respectively. Eight leasehold blocks "and the right of grazing over seven blocks till sold" were valued at £3,500; the "Land Account" (apart from a few hundred "purchased" acres about the homestead itself, mostly referring to land allotments in Rockhampton and Gladstone "bought on speculation") stood at £10,250—together with the few improvements and "sundries," making up a total valuation of £66,959/18/6.⁶⁹ And in the same year, on a sworn valuation, we have evidence that

. . . the total value of improvements of Gracemere Run on which the pre-emptive purchases of Messrs. Archer are based is £1,753/14/6. . . .⁷⁰

In other words, the capital of Archer & Co. in 1868 was almost entirely sunk in stock—running on a largely unfenced and unimproved "sheepwalk" of the old type.

Fourteen years later (by 1882) the nature of pastoral settlement in this district had changed. Government Land Acts aimed at closer settlement, and free selectors had stripped Gracemere of 165 square miles (half the run) soon after 1869,⁷¹ and in 1875 the lion's share of the remaining ("leased") half of the run was taken too⁷²—which meant that the carrying capacity for stock (hitherto Gracemere's main asset) was drastically cut. Yet in June, 1882, the Gracemere capital of the firm of Archer & Co. was still £68,195/1/9. The answer is that by 1882 primary emphasis had shifted from purely stock values to the value of freehold lands and general improvements as well; so by 1882, though the value of stock was well under half the 1868 values, the value of the run itself had been rather more than multiplied by four. Thus, under "Schedule of Selected (Country) Lands" is entered a valuation of £31,951/4/-; under "Schedule of Purchased (Country) Lands," £5,354/17/9; and "Town Property" in Rockhampton and Gladstone came to another £6,248.⁷³ In other words, in this fourteen-year span of 1868-82 Gracemere had become "capitalized."

This trend towards a greater capital investment in pastoral holdings—so clearly indicated by the consistently

rising prices paid for runs throughout the period—serves to throw into relief the previous "unimproved" order of things. It was not that the earlier grazing industry had been a retarded and poor subsistence economy, such as the Boer "sheep-farmers" of the veldt. Rather, Australian squatting had been (as Arthur Keppel-Jones remarks in his book on South Africa) a commercial exploitation in the fullest sense, with attention never for long directed away from the "chimneys of the new factory towns of industrial England" and the London wool market. It was simply that the Australian out-back pastoral industry in its pioneering stage had been rather crude and perhaps inefficient in its methods,† and certainly rather wary of over-great capital investment : with the result that the typical out-back sheep-run in the early days had been almost completely unimproved. And this, in turn, meant that every such run, to be profitable at all, had to be tremendously large—which, again, added to the difficulties of management. It was clear to many people at the time—such as William and Archibald Arthur (who proposed the fateful 1868 *Land Act*)—that such a happy-go-lucky state of affairs could not last indefinitely. But the fact remains that in the early days, with immense tracts of virgin country to open up and a demand for wool far exceeding the limited supply of the conventionally settled districts, unimproved squatting on the Australian "frontier" was the natural reaction to the times; and it was only with the filling up of available land and the coming of closer settlement that the old ways became uneconomic. That stage was arrived at in the Central Queensland district in the early 'seventies—the years, indeed, when the wholesale resumptions of Gracemere, Glenmore, Yaamba, Langmorn, and the Ross estates went through.

The Archer records illustrate perfectly the earlier "under-capitalized" and unimproved grazing, and then the transition to a more settled economy; until by the 1890's Gracemere had become the stud-property—and showplace—of an increasingly settled district. Passing over the very early records from the Archers' days in South Queensland at Durundur, we find that in 1853 at Coonambula

† Though it may be argued that these methods were the best suited to the times—"an inevitable reaction to a primitive environment."

and Eidsvold not quite £5,000 was all that was required for David Archer to set on foot a new pastoral firm.

Valuation of stock and other property put into the concern of David Archer & Co. (new firm) by David Archer on the 1st April, 1853 : £4,634/2/8.⁷⁴

Thirty years later, following this process of gradual transition, £68,000 would not have bought Archer & Co. out of a vastly reduced Gracemere.⁷⁵

All the records exist to allow an examination in detail of the every-day working of a typical run in the 'fifties and 'sixties. The enormous area of Gracemere was worked not from the head station, but from its thirty out-stations, any one of which would form a large pastoral holding to-day; the working and skilful co-ordination of these is all explained in James Archer's diary, and more particularly in Colin Archer's invaluable journal for 1858-59. Colin Archer, indeed, helpfully enumerates the Gracemere out-stations, and if most of the old names have been changed ("Boorba" has, for instance, become progressively "Meadow Flats," and then "Broadmeadows" and "The Meadows"), with the aid of Charles Archer's map most of them can be placed. Raglan and Langmorn Stations—first the Landsboroughs' and then the Creeds'—were run in much the same way : Lodi, Marengo, Trafalgar, and Langmorn making up "Langmorn Station," and Raglan, Larcom Vale, San Jose and Stevenston, "Raglan Station." By a final consolidation, "Raglan" and "Langmorn" were united and run as one property.⁷⁵ In the early days the Rosses' holdings along Keppel Bay were run along much the same lines : from Cawarral and Emu Park through Tanby, Mulambin, Taranganba, and as far north as Rasberry Creek, there were the same subdivisions. "Tanby Hall" was one such out-station. Colin Archer left full details of how such a run was worked : with the central woolsheds at the head station, where all the sheep were brought for shearing; the great roving flocks of sometimes several thousand head; above all—the main feature of this early organization—the shepherds and the shepherds' huts on the various out-stations.

Pastoral organization in such early stages was thus primarily practical : the typical station was less a place of settlement, a permanent home, than a good investment which was expected to pay high dividends. Later, various

families in this district came increasingly to look upon their head station as permanent homes (and the surprisingly large number of properties in Central Queensland which have stayed in the one family since the early days is a sure indication of this), but it is hard to escape the conclusion that in the first stage of settlement this was not so : far too much was "taken out" of most properties in proportion to the amount sunk back into them. This undoubtedly slowed down the process of improvement and heavier capitalization.

Gracemere, again, affords the best illustration of this tendency—obvious from the most cursory glance at the partnership accounts of Archer & Co.⁷⁷ It is no exaggeration to say that from the earliest days Gracemere supported seven homes—most important of them all, the beautiful Tolderodden Estate, set in its Norwegian fjord—as may be seen from the "Partnership Account." Six Archers (William, Thomas, Charles, David, Archibald, J. G. L., and Colin) and Simon Jorgensen (whose mother was the Archer brothers' sister) held shares ranging from William's and Thomas' four-sixteenths shares each to the one-sixteenth shares of J. G. L. Archer, Colin Archer, and Simon Jorgensen ; the total value of these shares came to £52,406/6/10. In addition, there was a "Loan Account" consisting of dividends held back and therefore still owing—which included the names of William, Thomas, Charles, David, Archibald, J. G. L. and John Archer. The sums in the loan account ranged from William Archer's £14,658/15/11 to John Archer's £450/5/10, coming in all to £35,643/13/2. Added (by an amazing calculation) to the £52,406/6/10 in the "Partnership Account," this was taken as giving a total "capital" of £80,050.⁷⁷ In later years the distribution of shares became even more scattered, for Charles Archer left his estate to his sisters and nieces : which meant that, later still, the accounts became still more complicated, and many of those holding shares were not even Archers. Thus, with more and more people expecting a dividend from Gracemere, so much more money had to be sent home to Norway—which, again, left the men on the spot (William, Colin, James, and finally R. S. Archer) with so much less to "sink back" into the property in improvements and capital expenditure.

The same thing is apparent in the great majority of memoirs and reminiscences of the time, with rather less excuse than the early managers for Archer & Co. had at Gracemere, since most of the other graziers in the district were able to live on their own runs and few were troubled by having the controlling interests in their property held by absentee shareholders—at the Archers at Gracemere were. Only after 1869 is there evidence in station account-books of much capital outlay at all in this district; and then, in the early stages, expenditure was mainly directed towards the purchase of the freehold of large blocks of the run, to safeguard it against free selectors.

The one great exception to this general tendency was the Birkbecks' Glenmore. S. B. Birkbeck had come to Queensland, Rockhampton in particular, because he was attracted by the hope of cheap land :

. . . There is some difference of opinion as to the eligibility of New Zealand or Queensland, though the great majority are in favour of the latter. The middle island of New Zealand is the only one adapted for sheep farming. The climate is cold, very windy, and invariable, and I think it would require more capital to begin on the same scale as in Queensland. Parker's elder brother has purchased a run for £19,000 consisting of 27,000 acres leased land, a little freehold, and 8,000 sheep in Otago near Dunedin—£6,000 cash and the rest in two years. I expect to do better in Queensland. . . . As Brisbane, the capital, is surrounded by a comparatively old settled country, consequently the prices of stations would be higher, while Rockhampton is the outlet of a great extent of new country particularly adapted for pastoral purposes. . . .⁷⁸

On this initial advantage of cheap land, S. B. Birkbeck planned to build up an "improved" estate, obviously on the lines of the Mexican haciendas with which he was so familiar : in Alfredo Birkbeck's diary (written in Spanish) Glenmore is always the "Hacienda," and in S. B. Birkbeck's own Mexican diaries there are full descriptions of these Spanish-Colonial estates.⁷⁹ One in particular—the princely establishment of the Marques del Taral—tallies exactly with S. B. Birkbeck's own plans for Glenmore, which he gives later in his Glenmore diary and day-book. What he failed to realise was that Central Queensland's different climate, different soil, and erratic rainfall made such a highly organized and complex estate, at least in the early days, impracticable.

In the six years spent at Glenmore before his death

(1867), it is surprising how many of his schemes S. B. Birkbeck *did* put into effect. Starting off with the Fitzroy River, and his 25-mile river frontage—which he utilized both for irrigation and wool-barge communication with Rockhampton—he had by 1866 completed an ingenious “gravitation” system of irrigation, worked with great stone tanks and drains. (“Agosto 1866 : Acabamos el aqueducto el dos de este mes. . . .”) At the same time, the labour of two of the Birkbeck’s imported Mexican peons—“Dionisio Cifuentes” and “Martin Ruiz”—was employed in carrying out S. B. Birkbeck’s plans for a great, two-storied limestone and adobe homestead complete with L-wings and arched patios;* part of the L—the Glenmore homestead of to-day—was completed before S. B. Birkbeck’s death in 1867, when the work ceased. Further expenditure went on acres of irrigated farm land, terraced orchards, vineyards, and avenues of citrus trees; and a large outlay—mentioned before—on improved sheep, cattle, and horse-stock. Greater still was the outlay on buying freehold the land about the homestead—necessary for self-protection, but crippling nevertheless in times when Crown land had to be sold at auction with a minimum reserved price of £1 per acre : a price far in excess of both the *use* the land was to be put to at the time and indeed even the actual “*capabilities*” of the land in the future, which S. B. Birkbeck (unversed in Australian conditions, and perhaps misled by the deceptively good season of 1861) seems to have over-estimated.⁴⁰ All this was financed mainly from the apparently never-failing remittances from the Birkbecks’ Mexican holdings : a \$500 remittance from the silver-mine of San Martin in May, 1862, followed by £2.396/11/7 in December, 1865,⁸⁰ as well as more regular sums from the Santa Helena and Comanja Mines, and the Herrera and Guadalupe Haciendas (the latter valued at \$84,441 in December, 1859).⁸¹ For Glenmore itself there is a telling entry in December, 1865 : “Glenmore Station. Loss in 4 years £1071/9/3.”⁸⁰ Land resumptions, drought (in 1868 and later years), lung-worm in the sheep, and spear-grass, and the perhaps not so thrifty and single-minded management after S. B. Birkbeck’s death, joined in frustrating his early plans. The Birkbecks are one family, at least,

* The plan still exists to-day.

that put more into this district than they were later to take out.

Allowing for individual differences—such as half-Spanish Glenmore, and Gracemere with its largely overseas ownership—Anthony Trollope was right in saying that Central Queensland station life did roughly conform to a pattern,⁸² for the similar environment, troubles, and economic interests did indeed force some sort of homogeneity on the early social life in the district, however diverse the origins of the various station families.

These origins are themselves interesting, and the most striking feature about them bears significantly on any social study of country life in the early days. This is the aristocratic tradition behind so many of them : the Archers, with their Tolderodden background and influential Walker and Mackenzie connexions; P. F. MacDonald of Yaamba, himself the son of a wealthy New South Wales grazier and King's School-educated; the Birkbecks (with their Mexican "hacienda" tradition of self-contained "great estates"—so obviously an influence at Glenmore); the Creeds of Langmorn (who came from a West Indian sugar-plantation past); Bonar Hamilton-Ramsay of Canoona; first the Leith-Hays and then Howard St George at Rannes; Mr. and Mrs Campbell Praed (born Murray Prior) on Curtis Island Station; as well as the initial tradition of "closed" squattocracy in the Burnett district—the starting-point for so many later settlers of Central Queensland (Archers, Elliotts, Leith-Hays).

Sir George Bowen undoubtedly had this "tradition" in mind when he referred to the squatters of 1859 as gentlemen who live in a patriarchal style among their immense flocks and herds, amusing themselves with hunting, shooting, and fishing, and the exercise of a plentiful hospitality.⁸³

Anthony Trollope and young William Archer are probably more helpful as social historians—mainly because their treatment is more familiar and, therefore, more sympathetic than a Vice-regal view could be. Both saw a great deal of station life while in Australia; and they both (especially the older man, Trollope) saw the reverse of the medal, along with the fabulous "boom" prosperity and lavish, "open-house" hospitality.

The verdict of Trollope on Australian bush life—we

must ask ourselves, was it a favourable one? Roughly, it was. In 1873 Trollope wrote :—

I don't know that there can be a much happier life than that of a squatter, if the man be fairly prosperous, and have natural aptitudes for country occupations. . . . He should be social—for he must entertain often and be entertained by other squatters. . . . He must prefer plenty to luxury, and be content to have things about him a little rough. . . .⁸⁴

Anthony Trollope in 1873 saw station life in Central Queensland at the peak of its Golden Age : the threat of



Mrs. S. B. BIRKBECK,
A Spanish-American, formerly the Dona Damiana de barre Valdes.

closer settlement from the new land legislation had just appeared on the horizon, wool prices had not yet started to fall,⁵⁶ and cattle prices were still rising.²⁷ By 1871 lung-worm in the sheep and spear-grass had appeared, but apparently they did not react unduly on the hospitality and good spirits at the different homesteads. James Archer wrote home to his sister Jane in 1859 :—

We have got a house full of people here (i.e. at Gracemere) again. Besides the seven of us belonging to the place, there is an old friend of Charlie's. . . . His name is Mr Crooks. . . . Besides him, we are continually pestered with travellers, who generally stop two

or three days, when they go away, but they are soon replaced by new arrivals. . . . Having as yet but little room to stow people away in . . . beds have to be made up on the floor, table, and anywhere there is six foot of room to spare. . . .⁸⁵

Gracemere, with its old log homestead and beautiful landscape garden set out on a point in the mere, always remained the show-place of the district. But when Anthony Trollope saw the district there were other homesteads there, famous for their hospitality—Mount Hedlow, Princhester, Waverley, Raglan and Langmorn; and, of course, along the coast, the various Ross estates. Robert Ross held the Cawarral-Zilzie-Emu Park run, whose homestead, set on a hill, once had its own race-track; and the beautiful Taranganba homestead, sloping down over undulating grassland and a fringe of she-oak forest to Keppel Bay. His brother, James Ross, held the rather less famous Mulambin and Raspberry Creek runs.

Station life in so vast a district could not, of course, be expected to conform exactly to one pattern. Glenmore especially does not fit into the picture Trollope and William Archer painted as typical of the Australian bush scene. Samuel B. Birkbeck himself was a Quaker of English stock who had gone out to America, and in Mexico married a Spanish-American, the Dona Damiana de Barre Valdes.⁷⁹ It was this "Spanish tradition" which—especially after S. B. Birkbeck died, so soon after coming to the colony—set the tone at Glenmore. Spanish, devoutly Catholic, never very familiar with English, the widowed Mrs S. B. Birkbeck naturally mixed less with her neighbours than most station women. This "cultural isolation" is obvious from young Alfredo Birkbeck's diary—nearly all in Spanish. For, significantly, the Birkbeck sons—the second generation—were much more familiar with Spanish than with English.

That was the bright side of station life—the homestead picture. The other is a bitterly, often tragic, tale of droughts, enforced purchases of freehold to save "the eyes of the run" from blackmailing selectors—and overdrafts and crippling interest rates from which few squatters, once so embarrassed, never managed to free themselves. Gracemere, with its excellent management, huge tracts of fine country, and enormous flocks and herds, is, of course, a special case; in the early days (as William Archer's letter, cited earlier, proves) the worst that ever happened for

the overseas shareholders in Archer & Co. was a temporary cut in dividends, and in the 1880's the Archers were even in a position to lend money on mortgage in Rockhampton itself.⁸⁶ Similarly, Glenmore was saved from having to "go to the bank" by capital S. B. Birkbeck brought with him to Australia, and the periodical remittances from Mexico. But Trollope's finding is borne out by the vast majority of cases—the Archers' and Birkbeck's less fortunate neighbours :

. . . For a squatter of the true commercial kind not to owe money to his merchant or his banker is an unusual circumstance—unless he be one who has stuck to his work till he is able to lend instead of borrow. The normal, and I may almost say the proper, condition of a squatter is indebtedness to some amount. . . .⁸⁷

Trollope goes on to say that the usual interest paid to "merchants and their kind" varies from 7 to 8%, a statement supported by an entry in S. B. Birkbeck's diary :

Sydney (July-August, 1861) : Have arranged with Mess. Flower Salting & Co. to be my agents and make me advances till I can receive my remittances from Mexico, for which, as is the custom here, they will charge me 8% interest and 5% on every payment or transaction and my purchases of stores being made through them will probably be unsatisfactory both in price and quality. . . .⁸⁸

The amount of debt on some stations is enormous, and the total interest paid, including bank charges, commission, and what not, frequently amounts to 20%.⁸⁸

Substantially, that is true. The Archers, when they first came to Queensland in the very early days, were paying James Walker & Co. as much as 12% interest.

The labour problem was the squatter's main concern from the earliest days :

A considerable influx of immigrants has however relieved the labor market and reduced wages about 25/- within the last month. I have also had an importation of 10 Chinamen which I think will suit our purpose for shepherds and watchmen better than the class we have heretofore been obliged to employ.¹⁰²

With the cessation of the convict labour supply in 1842 and the absence of a regular flow of cheap migrants, this last solution did indeed seem the answer to the labour problem, and, by the time the Archers trekked to Gracemere in 1855, Chinese shepherds and shearers had become an integral part of the Coonambula-Eidsvold (and now Gracemere) economy. The preservation of a "Wages Book"—covering the Eidsvold, Coonambula, and Gracemere periods—gives an unbroken record, and provides what must be

a virtually unique "Labour History" of early pastoral settlement in Central Queensland.¹⁰³

The earliest entries prove that, in the early 'fifties, the Archers with their Chinese shepherds and stockmen were employing the "cheapest" labour force they were ever destined to find. The great majority of entries—Lin Qua, Poh Tsoan, Soa Hin, Tam Leam, Wysoon, Tang Leang, Ube Teoo, Ney Eang, Toe—carry beside them the legend "£18 pr. annum"; but some—Ang Long, Chang Tsy, Goe What—were paid only £16. Others received different salaries—all slightly better than the average. Nor did this include "keep"; for the Chinamen were expected to pay a cook ("Nim Song—£26 pr. ann.") and feed themselves out of their own pockets.¹⁰³

But, even before the move to Gracemere, German migrants had begun increasingly to replace the former Chinese shepherds: in July, 1855, of the party of seventeen whites in the overlanding party eight were Germans. Supperelatz, Ganzel, Maurer, Juppenlaz, Scheelmeister, Schulmaster, Karl Wilkin, all were receiving, in 1855 and 1856, £20 per annum (plus keep, however).¹⁰³ This source of cheap, abundant, and willing labour remains in evidence in both the Gracemere¹⁰³ and Glenmore¹⁰⁴ books until well into the 'sixties, accounting for the thick pockets of German farm settlement throughout this district.

German migration seems to have been a welcome alternative to the rising costs of employing station-hands with British names. For, from the gold fever days in the 'fifties, wages seemed to rise progressively.¹⁰³ In 1853, at Coonambula, the Archers had paid Robert Pacey £20 a year;¹⁰⁵ by 1856, at Gracemere, ordinary stockmen were receiving £35, and the overseer, Ned Kelly, £100.¹⁰⁶ In the days of this district's Canoona Rush, wages sky-rocketed—temporarily; as J. A. Macartney and Sir John Macartney found to their cost, when they were left stranded with a flock of sheep they had brought from Berry of Rawbelle:

I tried to get some of the men to join me, offering one as high as £4 a week; but I could not tempt any of them.¹⁰⁷

After the collapse of the Canoona rush, wages of course slumped; but afterwards the tendency was resumed, and by the 'seventies white men's wages had settled down, permanently, on a far higher level.¹⁰³ This was the state

of affairs that that astutest of observers—Anthony Trollope—remarked on in 1871 :

I rarely found that a white man's labour could be had for less than 15/- a week in addition to his rations. At meat-preserving and sugar establishments men earn from 15/- to 20/- a week. Washers at sheep stations earn about 4/- a day. Shearers will earn, according to their skill and strength, from 7/- to 14/- a day, paying, however, for their own rations. These two last employments are only to be had during the last four months of the year. Shepherds on a sheep run are paid from £30 to £40 per annum, and their rations. Gardeners and grooms about 20/- a week and rations. . . .¹⁰³

It is obvious that, with these (comparatively) great wage increases, the wages bill on a property like Gracemere could be a very large item! In the year June, 1869—June, 1870, for instance (the last year of the old, entirely un-resumed Gracemere), "wages" were entered at £4,467/19/2 under "Sheep Property" and £1,443/3/7 under "Cattle Property"—a total of £5,911/2/9.¹⁰⁹ No records exist to indicate how many men Archer & Co. employed in that year, but it must have been considerably more than in the 'fifties—and in July, 1856, there had been Simon Jorgensen, Colin and James Archer, W. H. Risien, Ned Kelly, 15 Chinamen, 16 Australians, and 6 Germans all employed at the head station itself.¹⁰³ Nor did that list include the men employed on the out-stations, and certainly not the shearers. (In 1858-9, we know, there were 15 shearers *permanently* employed on Gracemere.)¹¹⁰ Even at Glenmore in the same period—by then a much smaller station—besides the Birkbeck boys themselves, there were 10 men on the wages sheet—all but three receiving 20/- a week.¹¹¹

Under these circumstances—with wool hovering at slightly less than 2/- a lb., and cattle periodically un-marketable—it is not surprising that station owners cast round hopefully for a means of escape from these "crippling charges."¹⁰⁸ The solution obviously would never be supplied by future use of the local natives : then as now, the aborigines "were no good as stockmen, being too wild to train."⁷⁵ The answer for the squatters was, apparently, supplied by the enterprise of Captain the Hon. Louis Hope, casting round in the 'sixties for cheap labour for his projected sugar and cotton plantations :

. . . On the 27th of December, 1867, the *City of Melbourne*, barque, 175 tons, Captain Weiss, arrived in Keppel Bay with 103 South Sea Islanders, being the first shipment of Kanakas to reach Rockhampton, if not also the first to reach Queensland. . . .¹¹²

For nearly three decades the traffic to and from the islands was to continue : to Townsville, Rockhampton, Bundaberg, and Maryborough. In the files of the Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin* there is an interesting picture of Rockhampton and the River "in the '80's" : a line of graceful, three-masted sailing-ships, and there is a note beneath reminding readers that the white craft on the extreme right is a blackbirder's schooner, a "slaver." No records exist of the number of Kanakas landed in this district; and there were, of course, no official estimates of the numbers at work here at any one time. The most one can do is to refer to private papers, station records, contemporary references; which means that generalization must, necessarily, be rough.

At least a certain amount of information exists. "Lloviendo todo el dia," wrote Alfredo Birkbeck in 1871. "Fui a Rockhampton a encargar South Sea Islanders. . ."¹¹³ Which, along with other references to "los Kanakas" in the diary and account books, prove that there were always Kanakas at Glenmore. At Gracemere, too, there are constant references in the station books to the "Polynesians," and young William Archer, Carl Lumholtz, and Anthony Trollope all described the Gracemere Kanaka huts during their visit. Less direct evidence indicates the presence of Kanaka workers at certain other station homesteads—in particular, of course, the Rosses' Taranganba.

Young William Archer thus wrote in 1877 :

What would become of Queensland without Kanaka labour I cannot tell. The assistance which it affords to sugar growers, squatters, and indeed to all employers of labour is at present incalculable. The South Sea Islanders are industrious, docile, well-behaved, and in some cases even intelligent. The more I see of them, the more I am convinced that any outcry of "slavery" with regard to their employment must be absurdly unjust. They are in the fullest sense of the word voluntary, paid, labourers, and in the great majority of cases happy and contented labourers. There have undoubtedly been cases in which islanders have been forcibly kidnapped and brought to Australia, but the trade is now too well looked after to render such nefarious proceedings any longer possible. When in the colony, too, they are thoroughly protected against ill-usage by stringent legislation. The fact that a great number of them, after visiting their native land at the end of their contract time, return to the colony of their own free will is enough to prove that ill-usage and hardship are, to say the least of it, uncommon. . .¹¹⁵

That is a full—and, I think, mainly justified—statement of the squatter's case. Except in the most isolated

instances, there could be no question of slavery or cruelty; and, besides, in this central district—always predominantly pastoral—sugar and cotton cultivation was at best merely spasmodic. The Kanakas were thus never able to be significant in a pastoral economy as they undoubtedly were in the canefields further north and south;* at best, they were just able to “fill the bill” for cheap, “docile” and “industrious” labour about the head station. At the Murray-Prior’s Bungroopim, for example,

. . . they were employed about the head station, never learning to ride, but fetching wood and water, and doing such domestic work as the soul of the Australian aborigine abhors. . . .¹¹⁶

The one fact that can never be passed over in any treatment of pastoral settlement—and its connexion with “native exploitation” and “slave labour” in this district—is that at no time were imported Kanaka workers able to replace, in any significant numbers, the white labour force which always comprised the bulk of the Archers’ station personnel.†

Only when this is realized can the “Kanaka Question” and pastoral development—at least in this district—be fitted into their true perspective. The essential fact remains that, with the coming of White Australia and the cessation of Kanaka immigration, the Queensland pastoral industry—unlike the sugar industry—was not faced with ruin. In other words, Kanaka labour, to the squatters, had been but an incidental—a helpful incidental, it is true—but so early as the 'sixties, Central Queensland pastoralists petitioned at a public meeting (with Sir Charles Nicholson in the chair) “praying for . . . a regular and systematic influx of population directed to the locality.”¹¹⁶ The influx of these State-aided European immigrants “began with the ship *Persia* in 1861 and continued until 1866, by which time . . . it was found that the labour market was over-supplied. . . .”¹¹⁶ Thus the squatters’ first response to a labour shortage in this district—since the rest of Australia was already barring them from further importation of Chinese coolie shepherds—had been State-assisted immigration of working-class migrants from the British

* Yet the size of “Kanaka Town” on the outskirts of North Rockhampton—even to-day—would seem to indicate some considerable Kanaka immigration into this district.

† Apart, of course, from the Chinese shepherds and shearers in the 'fifties and 'sixties.

Isles. In effect, that was always to remain the final solution of labour worries.

The "Polynesian" entries in the Gracemere books, even if they had little final bearing on pastoral development itself, are interesting as a commentary on the costs of earlier labour groups—convicts, Chinese, Germans—which the Archers had previously depended upon. Anthony Trollope wrote in 1873 that a Kanaka's labour for three years (the usual contract time) cost his employer about £75 : the total of wages, rations, clothes and, of course, the passage out and back—which the employer himself paid to the blackbirding captain.

This amounts to nearly 10/- a week for the entire time. The average wages of a white man on a plantation may be taken at about 25/- a week, including rations. . . .¹¹⁷

These figures are substantially borne out by entries in the Gracemere accounts; but, if anything, they err on the light side, for a Kanaka labourer was almost bound to cost his employer more than Trollope had estimated. The wages of "Sambo" and "Billy" in 1867-8 were each £4/10/-,¹¹⁸ but later entries⁴³ prove that the usual annual salary was £6, as Trollope claims. However, a week's rations would almost certainly cost more than the 3/9 Trollope allows. Added together, so many petty expenses mean finally that Queensland Kanaka labour was neither so inexhaustible nor so cheap as some Left-Wing 20th century critics—who are seldom Queenslanders, or people who know the Queensland scene—would have us believe.

Closely related to the problem of the squatter's economic security and the labour question (his freedom to recruit labour from where he desired)—in fact, of primary importance in any treatment of pastoral settlement—is the question of politics and the squatter's role (and influence) in the public life of the early colony. It is hard to escape the conclusion that early Queensland was, indeed, a "squatter's colony," as Anthony Trollope called it.¹¹⁹

In Queensland the system which regulates a man's capacity to vote for a member of the Legislative Assembly is certainly not democratic. . . . By this (property qualification) the nomad tribes of wandering labourers . . . are excluded from the registers. It cannot be said that this young colony has shown any tendency to run headlong into the tempting dangers of democracy. It would appear that the prevailing feelings of the people lie altogether in the other direction. As I have said, I fear more than once before, the squatters are the aristocracy of the colony, and I found that

a Cabinet with seven members contained six squatters. . . . The opposition to squatters comes of course from the towns—and chiefly from the metropolis.¹¹⁹

Trollope was referring to the first (Herbert) Ministry, which was indeed dominated by the "Darling Downs"—Ratcliffe Pring, T. de Lacy Moffatt (succeeded by Sir Joshua Peter Bell of Jimbour), St George Gore, Sir Maurice O'Connell, J. J. Galloway, Dr Hobbs, and Sir Robert Ramsay Mackenzie of Kinellan. As Edward Palmer later wrote :

In 1859, when the Colony of Queensland was separated from New South Wales, the pastoral interest was in the ascendant, and this is considered to have been made evident by the first land legislation of the new colony. The first consideration of the new government was legislation for leasing and selling land.¹²⁰

This was the *Crown Lands Occupation Act* of 1860, which "was intended to encourage the exploration and use of new country for pastoral purposes."¹²¹ Its main effect on pastoral settlement in Central Queensland was that it facilitated development—and effectively terminated the speculation in land by "Sydney gentlemen" ("drawing-room tenders") which P. F. MacDonald of Yaamba and William Young of Mount Larcombe had complained about so bitterly in the 'fifties.

Throughout the 'sixties—so important to the Golden Age of squatting in Central Queensland—the "shepherd kings" (as Dr John Dunmore Lang bitterly called them) retained control of government in Queensland. This was the age of the great runs—Gracemere, Glenmore, Mount Hedlow, Yaamba, Langmorn, Raglan, Rannes—and the age, too, of great profits. Comparatively secure leases, and a long tenure at a nominal rental, encouraged pastoral expansion; and so the importance of the 1860 *Act* is obvious in a study of pastoral development in this district. Under the provisions of the *Act*,

any person who, having found an unoccupied area suitable for a run within the settled districts, had placed his stock upon it, could obtain a licence to occupy the land at a rental of 10/- per square mile for 12 months. Within three months of the expiration of this term, he might obtain a lease of the run for a period of fourteen years, provided in the meantime he had stocked in to the extent of 25 sheep or 5 head of cattle per square mile.¹²¹

The rent was merely nominal : 10/- per square mile for the first four years, then subject to re-appraisement.¹²¹ In October, 1861, for instance—on 336 square miles, the Grace-

mere and Rosewood runs—Archer & Co. were paying an annual rental of £547.¹²²

Four years later, to encourage white immigration, the *Immigration Act* of 1864 was passed—"instructing the Agent-General in London to issue migrants with land order warrants." The land orders were only to the value of £30 for every person brought over 12, and £15 for every child under 12,¹²¹ but the *Act* is interesting as the first real attempt at closer settlement in Queensland—the first sop thrown to an increasingly vocal and land-hungry class, several pegs on the social and economic scale below the squatters, which represented "the discontented elements of the larger towns."¹¹⁹ Actually, the land order system was of very little practical effect; it probably did attract some humble migrants, but quite as frequently it was welcomed by the wealthier type of settler as an opportunity for land dummying. In S. B. Birkbeck's diary for July 29, 1861, there is an interesting entry : "Procured the recognition of my right to Land Orders 30 acres each for my family and servants as immigrants." When this "family" consisted of himself, his wife, their ten children, and the Mexican servants, it is obvious that the "encouragement given to settlement"¹²¹—at least in this case—was not inconsiderable.¹²³

By the end of the 'sixties, after ten years' comparative quiescence and maintenance of the status quo, it was obvious that further land legislation would have to go through, even with Trollope's "squatting interest" still firmly entrenched in the Legislative Council and Assembly. Thus, in his memoirs, an old Central Queensland squatter—Oscar de Satge of Park Downs—naively wrote that he himself had been elected to the Assembly for Clermont in order to assist in passing the *Pastoral Leases Act* of 1869, which the Lilley Government then in power had projected for the relief and support of *our predominant interest*.¹²⁴

There was no question of Radicalism in the new measures, for the Herbert Ministry of 1866 was still a Squatters' Cabinet of True-Blue Tories, as were the Lilley and McIlwraith administrations in the following period. Oscar de Satge lists them all : besides the old hands (Thomas de Lacy Moffatt, Arthur Macalister, Ratcliffe Pring, Sir Joshua Bell of Jimbour, and St George Gore), such influential squatters as the Hon. Louis Hope, William

Landsborough (brother of James Landsborough of Raglan Station, C.Q.), John McConnel of Cressbrook, John Donald McLean of Bindango, George Sandeman (Oscar de Satge's partner at Peak Downs, C.Q.), and Arnold Weinholt, also from the Central West—"names that included some of Queensland's foremost colonists and a welcome infusion of squatting blood."¹²⁵

It was this Government—not very surprisingly—which put into effect the *Pastoral Leases Act* of 1869, "which has since formed the basis of Queensland pastoral legislation."¹²⁶ A tenure of 21 years at the then low rentals was provided, and lessees were allowed to protect their head station or other improvements by pre-emptive right to buy not more than 2,560 acres at 10/- an acre out of every 25 square miles, or 16,000 acres, which was now the regulation block of country.¹²⁶ This *Act*, comments de Satge, gave a feeling of security, and led to improvement and stations changing hands at high prices. But such a measure—frankly designed for the areas listed as "unsettled"—applied to the Far West more than to Central Queensland, now increasingly coming under the category of "Settled Area." Of far more effect on Central Queensland conditions, therefore, was the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1868—proposed, indeed, by a Central Queenslander.

By the late 'sixties, with closer settlement obviously on the way, it was apparent that some changes in this district had to come. To the east—on the "North Side" of the River—the Birkbecks' Glenmore run hemmed in the townspeople; and to the west and south, Rockhampton met the boundary fences of Gracemere. From now on, "Consolidation" became a popular term in the Archers' letters home, as the emphasis began gradually to move from enormous blocks of virtually unimproved country and insecure leases to smaller ("consolidated") runs, with improved carrying capacity, and, above all, a more secure tenure—long, guaranteed leases and freehold where possible.

Consequently, it is not altogether surprising that Archibald Archer—M.L.A. for Rockhampton at the time—moved the new *Land Act* of 1868. His speech in the Assembly is significant :

. . . One of the main causes why the lands in the whole of Australia are almost in the state in which nature had left them, is that none of the lessees dare to risk improvement, owing to the bad

tenure by which they hold them. Anyone of ordinary sense can see the folly of improving lands which in a moment almost they can be deprived of . . . the immense waste and unvaried sight that presented itself, of miles and miles of gum trees, without the sign of human habitation, may be attributed to the bad tenure upon which public lands are held. . . .¹²⁷

Briefly, it provided that lessees of large pastoral holdings be permitted to surrender their leases and obtain a renewal of the lease for half the leasehold area *without disturbance* for a term of ten years at a rental proportionately equal to that paid for the whole of the leasehold area; this was henceforth referred to as the "leased half" of each run. The remaining portion ("the resumed half") remained to the former owner only under a license; he held occupation—all rights over it only until such time as a selector should appear. This change had obviously been coming for some years, and it was therefore accepted without much complaint, even at Gracemere homestead; but it was in the second part of the *Act*—the part really concerned with "the alienation of Crown lands"—that the squatters as a class were most interested.

Country land was declared open for selection by conditional purchase. It was divided for the purposes of the *Act* into (1) Agricultural, (2) First Class Pastoral, and (3) Second Class Pastoral lands. Agricultural lands could be leased (40 to 640 acres) for ten years. First class pastoral land (areas from 80 to 2,560 acres) could be obtained at an annual rental of 1/- per acre. Second class pastoral land, in areas of from 80 to 7,680 acres, at an annual rental of 6d. per acre. . . . In the case of pastoral lands, the freehold could be obtained in a similar manner after two years' residence, and upon improvements being made to the value of 10/- to 5/- per acre respectively in the two classes.¹²⁸

On complying with these terms, the squatter becomes the absolute proprietor of his run at the termination of his lease.¹²⁹

Under this *Act*, too, one person may select the full allowance of all the three different classes of land, which would enable him to hold 10,880 acres at an annual rental of £368. Where there are two or more persons of the same family, their selection might be made on lands adjoining each other and this would materially lessen the cost of fencing. . . .¹²⁹

In other words, the acquisition of freehold by wealthy pastoralists—equally well as humble agricultural selectors—was made easy in Queensland—still very much "the squatters' colony."

The passing of the *Act* of 1868, which as previously shown permitted free selection over large proclaimed areas, at once resulted

in very great quantities of the public estate being alienated when the requisite periods of residence had been completed.¹³⁰ Rusden complained :

Injurious tendencies of the (1868) law were heightened by its abuse. Fraudulent selections enabled speculators to grasp larger blocks than the spirit of the law allowed. Combinations by members of a family gathered into one hand tens of thousands of acres in coveted districts . . . to over-reach the authorities of Queensland. Some settlers incurred heavy liabilities by purchasing at auction lands which, if selected by others, would have rendered it impossible for the settlers to follow their previous pastoral pursuits. . .¹³¹

Rusden's last is an interesting point : the way in which squatters could be virtually blackmailed into paying exorbitant prices for land the loss of which might have crippled the easy management of their property. Thus the Archers were forced to pay—at public auction—the cripplingly high price of £10/0/6 an acre for a vital 290 acres between the Gracemere homestead and their woolsheds.¹³² These are, however, special cases. But even on the purchase of their runs at normal prices, Trollope thought the Australian squatters were crippling themselves :—

. . . I feel certain that pastoral pursuits in Queensland will not bear the expense of purchased land.¹³³

That is probably too gloomy a view. Undoubtedly there *were* cases of squatters being forced into debt and ruined in an attempt to save their properties—by wholesale purchase, utilization of pre-emptive rights, dummying, "peacocking," and (especially) by being forced to buy out blackmailing "sham selectors." Glenmore, for instance, probably in the 'sixties paid out more money to the Crown in buying freehold than it could economically afford ; but, then, the Birkbecks were so close to the Rockhampton town boundary (which S. B. Birkbeck had once thought so attractive a feature of the place !), and resumption was so imminent, that they were really forced to do something in self-protection. Probably, if the letter of the law had been followed exactly, the purchase price of land *would* have been crippling to the pastoralist, as Trollope claimed it was. In the vast majority of cases, however, the effect was not disastrous : evasions, dummying, liberal interpretation of a squatter's pre-emptive rights, having choice areas declared Second Class Pastoral Land,* all contributed to lessen materially the final price paid by the grazier to

* As at the Rosses' Taranganba.

the Government. Rusden was probably far closer to the mark when he observed that

fraudulent selections enabled speculators to grasp larger blocks than the spirit of the law allowed. Combination by members of a family gathered into one hand tens of thousands of acres in coveted districts. . . .¹³¹

Certainly, by the mid-seventies, large and naturally good areas of land in Central Queensland were being "consolidated" into fine freehold estates : most of the Rosses' country (in particular Cawarral, worth £19,000 in 1877), the remains of the formerly enormous Glenmore run, the MacDonalds' Yaamba—and, of course, Gracemere itself. An Archer & Co. valuation sheet for June, 1882, is particularly enlightening : by that time the Gracemere run contained no leasehold at all, and consisted of (1) "Selected Lands" —at Gracemere and Cairnfield—totalling 2,453 acres, bought for an average price of 40/- an acre and worth £4,906 ; (2) "Cattle Station Exchanged Lands,"† or 27,044 acres at 20/- per acre ; and (3) "Purchased Lands"‡ (mostly close to the Gracemere homestead) of 745 acres, and valued at £5,354/17/9. The total area of this "consolidated Gracemere" came to 30,242 acres, valued altogether at £37,306/1/9.¹³⁴

There was no need for Trollope to deplore this tendency. What he failed to realize was that this general conversion of insecurely held leasehold runs into freehold estates was all part of one essential process—the outstanding feature of pastoral development in this district : a gradual transition from the large, sprawling, "unimproved" economy of the 'fifties and 'sixties (rapidly becoming uneconomic in an age of closer settlement) into the consolidated and improved freehold estates of a less primitively organized grazing industry.

Later land legislation does not seem to have affected Central Queensland to any marked extent—the more radical *Homestead Areas Act* of 1872 and the *Crown Lands Act* of 1884, with all its later amendments (in 1885, 1886, 1889, 1891 and 1892)—until, in 1902, "relief" legislation was passed, extending leases, to save thousands of drought-

† For leasehold lands surrendered by Archer & Co. on the Westwood part of the Gracemere run the Government had given "in exchange" the freeholds on the Gracemere Cattle Station.—(Archer.)

‡ "Purchased," that is, at auction.

stricken graziers from total ruin.* This was not a case of influence exerted behind the scenes by "our predominant interest"—by then there was a strong Labour and near-Labour opposition in the Legislative Assembly—but simply a timely recognition of the disasters brought by drought and floods. "God, not Man, has made Queensland the pastoralists' Colony."¹²⁵

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that by the end of the century the intimate connexion between pastoral development and politics—which undoubtedly did exist in the early days—was a thing of the past. It was no longer possible for people to talk of a "squatter's Cabinet," and Oscar Satge mourned in vain for his "welcome infusion of squatting blood."¹²⁵ Alexander Archer wrote home mournfully to his mother :—

... But even if he meant to stay, I am sure Archie would not be tempted in that way now. It was very different when he was an M.P. before. I think the House has degenerated much in tone since then, and such a congenial measure as the *Crown Lands Act* of 1868, with which Archie's name is always associated, can never come in his way again.¹²⁷

Increasingly, with a yearly more vocal working class and urban lower-middle class in Brisbane, "Liberal" legislators and their "Labor" supporters in the House turned a deaf ear to the complaints of "our predominant interest." Fortunately, by then, graziers in Central Queensland were not so reliant upon governmental benevolence, and most of the wealthier ones were by now "squatting" on freehold estates.

It is perhaps interesting that Central Queensland—long after the metropolitan area had swerved to the Left—remained to some extent a pastoralist's country. Then as now it continued to be predominantly a grazing district; also, by dint of climatic necessity, holdings were large, and (perhaps equally significantly in a large land-owning district) the Hustings—the old "open" election with its show of hands—was not done away with until considerably later than in the southern colonies.¹²⁶ In a district where—even in Rockhampton—there was little industrial population; where squatters and other employers and their workers (if they could fulfil the property qualifications)

* It was this drought—more than any man-made factors operating in the 19th century—which did so much to impair Gracemere's old prosperity.

voted within sight of one another, and where homogeneity of interest made serious disagreements the exception to the rule, it is not surprising that for decades "Tories" were returned to the Legislative Assembly—and that these Tory representatives were very often squatters. A. J. Callan, of Columbria, for years represented Fitzroy; P. F. MacDonald held Blackall for five years; Archibald Archer, of Gracemere, was, of course, this district's best known politician in the 'sixties and 'seventies, and again in the 'nineties, as was Edward Archer in the early 1900's; and G. S. Curtis (another staunch "Tory" and "Separatist") retained a similar monopoly on his seat.

The "squatter influence" in local politics was of great significance in at least one instance—the Archers' consolidation of the Gracemere run—put through, however, while "our predominant interest" was still at the helm in Brisbane. A letter from William Archer—then managing Gracemere—to his brother Colin at Tolderodden (September 27, 1868) states the Archers' case :—

... I must now tell you about a bit of a muddle we have got into with the station in bringing it under the *Land Act for Consolidation* as it is called. We applied in the usual way to have the 12 blocks on this side of the River consolidated into one for the purpose of division instead of dividing each block separately. All went well, the run was consolidated and a description of the resumed portion was published in the *Government Gazette*. There had been a dissolution of the House—Archie's election opposed by a clever Brisbane lawyer was just coming off when the cry of what has since figured in the Southern papers as *The Gracemere Job* was made an election cry to oust him out of his seat for Rockhampton. You know that the run stands in several names—Chas. A., C. & T. A., David A. & Co., Archer & Co. Now, when we first applied to have the blocks consolidated the Secretary for Lands attention was drawn to this fact by the Land Commissioner of the District—stating that we could if necessary bring them under one name, but the Secretary for Lands said this was not necessary—and we thought that all was going on smoothly until about 10 days ago we got a telegram saying that the whole thing was illegal—and the worst of it is that the time in which, according to the *Act*, it could be remedied had expired—and now we know not how it will be settled. The Opposition of course say that the Secretary for Lands and the Surveyor who surveyed the runs has been playing into our hands and they have got up a cry in the South that we are twisting the *Act* to suit our own purposes—whereas as you may suppose we have gone to work in the most strictly legal way—and any mistake lies entirely with the Government in not calling upon us at the proper time to bring all the blocks under the same name (which we had powers of attorney to do) before the consolidation took place. — I should like you all

to have heard Archie at a meeting in Rockhampton, indignantly demolishing the lies that had been published about us—and three days after he was returned again, by a large majority, as the member for Rockhampton—thus vindicating himself and all connected with the station from the foul aspersions that had been cast upon our fair family. . . . However there the matter of consolidation stands. We insist that it is legal—and if there is any illegality we say that Government is in fault and must hold us harmless from the illegal action of their officers. I think the whole thing will be put straight when all the facts of the case are explained. Archie thinks otherwise, and the alternative will be that every block will have to be divided at great additional expense and we will have bits of detached country all over the run, most expensive to manage, and bringing us into interminable collisions with the free selectors settled upon the portions resumed by the Crown. . . .

The case dragged on until 1874, when Archer & Co. submitted a petition to the Government of the day (the ultra-Conservative Macalister Administration) :—

. . . your petitioners have seen, by a Bill now before your Honourable House, that the leased halves* of the Gracemere and Meadow Flats Runs are to be thrown open for selection and that, by the said Bill, your petitioners will be debarred from selecting lands in anything like the area required for their stock, . . .¹³⁸

Briefly, Archer & Co. claimed that the matter involved £10,020/15/- worth of improvements . . . for the purpose of carrying on their business. And if your petitioners are precluded from selecting land of sufficient area to depasture their stock, many of these improvements will be rendered valueless. . . . From the avidity with which lands are selected on their runs,^t in consequence of their proximity to the populous neighbourhood of Rockhampton, your petitioners believe that their runs should be thrown open for selection; and your petitioners would willingly relinquish any claims they may have, provided your Honourable House would give your petitioners a right of pre-emption. . . .

In other words, the Archer interests were so immense, and the property so large, that having consolidated his runs, the pre-emptive rights of 2,560 acres on each run, under Section 14 of the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* of 1868, is quite inadequate to protect the interest of your petitioner in his expensive improvements,¹³⁹ and to purchase the requisite amount of land to take even the reduced Archer stock would likewise—if it had to go

* In addition to the "resumed half"—also 165 square miles—which had been open to selection since 1868.

^t I may mention that on the last occasion applications for selections were five or six deep on the portion that I gave up. That is the reason why I wish to get pre-emptive right, instead of conditional selection, near our improvements," William Archer told the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly in 1875.¹³⁹

through ordinary channels—be ruinously expensive. What Archer & Co. therefore requested was the right to buy—pre-emptive—13,400 acres. And the word “pre-emptive” meant, of course, that sale would not be by auction, but by private sale at fixed prices : 15/- per acre for agricultural land, 10/- per acre for first class pastoral land, 5/- per acre for second class pastoral land. Against the protests of the “Liberal” opposition, the “Bill to enable William Archer to purchase pre-emptive certain Lands on the Gracemere Run in the District of Port Curtis”¹³⁹ was forced through both Houses in the same month (May, 1875). Leftward opinion in Rockhampton itself spoke of “The Gracemere Job”; but what really mattered was that the Gracemere consolidation was finalized, and—when Archibald Archer stood again for the Legislative Assembly—he was re-elected triumphantly.

It is perhaps a tribute to the Archers and the simple justice of their claims that six years previously the Rosses—also with powerful political support—were not so successful in their attempts to frustrate the resumption of the picked spots of the Emu Park property, in which Robert Ross had as one of his partners Sir Arthur Palmer (M.L.A. for Port Curtis, 1866-78, and Minister for Lands in the Mackenzie Ministry—1866-8—at the beginning of the Emu Park dispute). The Rosses protested that the Emu Park land was about to be utilized as a sugar and coffee plantation, and the *Northern Argus* (always the squatters’ mouthpiece in Central Queensland—it was owned by P. F. MacDonald of Yaamba) supported the case. But the *Morning Bulletin* and “citizen opinion” in Rockhampton “championed the rights of the public”; more important, in Brisbane the Mackenzie Ministry fell, and the resumption of the most desirable 2,560 acres of the Emu Park land went through on January 6, 1869.¹⁴⁰

This district does, however, provide at least one example of a family who, by judicious adaptation to the changing times, have contrived to retain most of their original holding. Thus different Creed families to-day own Langmorn, Cleveden, Cecilwood, and Prior Park—which together, in one convenient pocket of country, make up the old Langmorn run.

The 1868 *Land Act* and this turbulent period of consolidations, land purchases, and general acrimony which

constituted the "settling down" period immediately following, do definitely mark a dividing line in the pastoral development of Central Queensland. Not merely in grazing methods was there now a change, but the very *nature* of pastoral settlement henceforth was so different.

So early as 1859 Colin Archer had commented on the good prospects for cattle in Central Queensland :—

... cattle, which despised stock appears to me to pay remarkably well as we are situated here. I suppose we sell £35 to £40 worth of beef dead and alive every week.¹⁴¹

Regular shipments of cattle were made—from the earliest days—to New Caledonia and southern ports.⁷⁵ But when Colin Archer was writing sheep were also doing well, and no one seemed to doubt the future of wool in Central Queensland. But so early as the 'sixties one finds constant complaints in the specifications of the Gracemere wool-clip that such-and-such a bale was "seedy" or "spoiled by seed."¹⁴² The answer was not far to seek. Squatters had declared in the 'fifties :—

Stock-up and shear and boil-down the aged animals ! That was the way to make money, secure in their faith and their boundless optimism.

On runs which grazed few cattle, there showed patches of spear grass which, with lush grasses to eat, the feeding sheep ignored. Each year the flocks consumed more and more of the good grasses before they had time to seed and be replenished. The tiny pods dried on the spear grass, worked their way through the fleeces of the sheep and penetrated their flesh. A myriad pods remained on the grass stems to parch to brittle dryness. These the winds tossed far and wide to fructify, to thrive, to scatter more seeds next season. Few noticed the spread of the spear grass. . . .¹⁴⁴

Spear-grass and grass-seeds and burrs were not the only plagues which had begun to cut into the Central Queensland wool output by the late 'sixties. Lungworm especially, and foot-rot in damp areas—such as Glenmore—were on the increase; but spear-grass and grass-seed were undoubtedly the main scourge. James Archer wrote bitterly in his diary of 1871 :—

. . . The noggets have to be shifted from the paddock as the grass-seed is beginning to get rampant there. Those wretched paddocks after all the expense they have been are very little good. The sheep are showing signs of battle and are looking very miserable. . . .¹⁴⁸

With their usual foresight, the Archers—with more to lose than anyone else—adapted themselves sooner to change. Looking west, they bought Minnie Downs in 1873-4, when

all the Gracemere sheep were either transferred to the new property or sold. (On April 10, 1871, for instance, there is an entry in James Archer's diary : "Letter from Mitchell announcing the sale of sheep. 10,600 @ 4/6 per head.") The Archers, in other words, were "unloading" their flocks—almost at any price. By the 1880's, when R. S. Archer took over the management, there were no sheep on Gracemere. About the same time, Raglan and Langmorn—mountainous and poor sheep country in any case—also crossed over to cattle.⁷⁵ Those station-owners in the district who were *not* so far-seeing, clinging to their diminishing flocks till the end, were all but ruined; parts of Alfredo Birkbeck's diary are a witness to this disappointment and bitter disillusionment.

Graziers in Central Queensland eventually found that the change over had not been altogether for the worse; there was, they found, more than a subsistence future in cattle. J. A. Macartney puts on record¹⁴⁵ that he once "sold 100 fat bullocks at 50/- per head." But that must be a special case, for the Gracemere and Glenmore books alone prove conclusively that, from the beginning—even when chances of a sure market were hazardous—prices were not unusually so low. In December, 1862, S. B. Birkbeck sold "common Cows" to an Adolf Halberstnedter at £5 per head¹⁴⁶; and by 1872 at Gracemere the Archers were selling bulls for 500/- and "select cattle" for anything between 300/- and 160/-.¹⁴⁷ In 1883, when R. S. Archer sold 400 bulls to Lakes Creek meatworks at £4/4/- a head, he thought it "a very poor price."¹⁴⁸

It was not, however, until the solution of what had always been the one limiting factor to the expansion of the beef cattle industry—the lack of a sufficiently large market—that "cattle" could really "pay," in the sense that sheep once had done. From the earliest days enterprising men such as Thomas Sutcliffe Mort had dreamed of freezing carcases for shipment to Europe; and even before "the successful institution of this trade,"

. . . attention was concentrated on the possibilities of the trade in tinned meats and meat extracts. . . . Australian canned meat began to be known to the British public by the year 1867.¹⁵⁰

So early as 1871 the Lakes Creek Meatworks were established at Rockhampton. The Archers of Gracemere and most of the other large graziers of the district were

interested in the Company, and Thomas Archer was one of the early managers. But Lakes Creek—like everything else connected with the beef cattle industry—went through its vicissitudes, until 1880, when the *Strathleven* arrived in England with the first shipment of Australian frozen meat. By 1896 “more than a hundred steamers had been fitted with refrigerating machinery for the Australian and New Zealand trade. . . .”¹⁵⁰ This rising tide of prosperity is nowhere better illustrated than in a comparison of the 1860 cattle figures (4 million head) with those thirty years later (over 10 million). And no district in Australia profited more from this expansion than the coastal lands of Central Queensland.

Central Queensland grazing was, too, by now a very different *industry* to the loose-knit, haphazard “depasturing” that Anthony Trollope had described twenty years before; it is significant that by the 1880’s the very word “Squatter” was passing out of fashion in this district. R. S. Archer’s letters home in the ‘eighties reveal a far different economic set-up to that described by his uncles in the ‘fifties and ‘sixties—and even the ‘seventies. In 1872, thus, Archer & Co. made its first direct importation of stud (Shorthorn and Hereford bulls) from Millwall, England; and in 1885 the Torsdale Stud was formed on another Archer holding (Torsdale) in the Dawson Valley.¹⁵¹ These—and other similar purchases of “such expensive cattle” under R. S. Archer’s progressive management—seem to have created a mild sensation among the “old hands” now home at Tolde-rodden.¹⁵²

But the switch over to selective cattle breeding—from “the now despised scrub cattle,”¹⁵¹ the “pioneer cattle” of twenty years before—is not the only index to the changing times. Equally significant is the general process of *improvement* on the now consolidated and securely held runs in the Central Queensland district. Well-sinking, damming, draining of salt stretches,¹⁵² all went on apace; but most important, of course—and most effectively marking the changed order of things—were the fences that now enclosed every paddock in the district, making possible, really for the first time, an improved stock-breeding in the truest sense.

In the ‘seventies, as James Archer’s diary shows, there was no alternative to the ruinously slow and expensive log

fences—ruinous even when put up with the cheaper labour of eighty years ago :—

. . . The two bushmen have taken the contract for the fencing at the cattle-station. They are to toplog about three miles at £11 a mile and put up about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile of 3 log, chock and log to the range. . . .¹⁵⁸

But in 1880 "there began a slight improvement in the way of fencing the country. Miles of brush fences were erected. . . ."¹⁵¹ And then, also in the 1880's, came barbed wire, and the problem was solved. R. S. Archer at Grace-mere and his neighbours may not have realized it at the time, but the coming of the fences really closed one era—and, as symbols of the changed order, marked the advent of a new.

It is no exaggeration to say that the history of pastoral settlement in Central Queensland can be treated as one continuous process of change : a gradual transition from the "classical" age of squatting, characterized by immense, insecurely leased runs—unfenced and almost totally unimproved—on which roamed stunted, half-wild "scrub cattle" and unwieldy flocks tended night and day by the convict or Chinese shepherds of the great "flockmaster," to a different conception of grazing, which perhaps is best described as "Closer Settlement" and usually entails freehold tenure, or at least longer leases, and an improved "stock farming." In Central Queensland, at least, to follow through this process of change is to write the history of pastoral settlement : "the two things are the same." If the pastoral history of this district over the years is regarded with this phenomenon of transition in mind, the whole study is found to possess a surprising unity. It only obscured the main issue if we talk in terms of other concepts : to try and connect the gradual reduction in the average size of properties with a more general Australian Leftward trend in the cities (of which White Australian was but a part) : to attribute an overall improvement in the *quality* of herds and flocks merely to the initiative of one or two men : or to connect the all-round impetus given to "improvements" on the run itself was a general upward trend in prices towards the end of the century, and the establishment at Rockhampton of the Lakes Creek Meatworks. Actually they are all—consolidation, attention to the quality of the stock, improvements to the land—merely aspects of a general process of which Lakes Creek, for

instance, is but a single phenomenon. "The work of the station," William Archer wrote home, "is now much more complicated than on any ordinary squatting. . . ."

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117. Anthony Trollope, *op. cit.* p. 150.
118. Archer Papers, Gracemere : Gracemere Journal, 1867-8, pp. 487-8.
119. Trollope, *op. cit.* p. 161.
120. Edward Palmer : *Early Days in North Queensland*, p. 17.
121. William Epps : *Land Systems of Australasia*, p. 88.
122. Archer Papers, Gracemere : Gracemere Ledger, 1858 *et seq.*
123. In the Glenmore Day Book, 1862, there is a further, and much fuller, enumeration of the Glenmore applicants for land—what must be a fairly representative specimen of land dummying : "9 Land Orders dated January 21, 1862, viz. :—

1	S. D. Birkbeck
1	Damiana
1	Carlos
1	Alfred
1	Robert
1	Ellen
1	Henry and S. Bradford
1	Dienisio Gifuentee
1	Martin Ruiz

—
9."

124. *Pages from the Journal of a Queensland Squatter* (Oscar de Satge), p. 218.
125. Oscar de Satge, *op. cit.* p. 226.
126. Oscar de Satge, *op. cit.* p. 243.
127. *A Visit to Queensland*, by Charles H. Allen, pp. 74-5.
128. William Epps, *op. cit.* p. 92.
129. Charles H. Allen, *op. cit.* p. 72.
130. William Epps, *op. cit.* p. 93
131. Rusden : *History of Australia*, Volume III., pp. 606-7.
132. *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, 1874.* Petition of Messrs Archer & Co., of Gracemere, to the Legislative Assembly.
133. Anthony Trollope, *op. cit.* p. 102.
134. Archer Papers, Gracemere : Petty Cash Book, Gracemere, July, 1865-93.
135. *The Aldine History of Queensland* (W. Frederic Morrison), 1888.
136. *Memoirs of the Hon. Sir Robert Philp*, by Harold C. Perry.
137. Edward Palmer : *Early Days in North Queensland*, p. 92.
138. *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, 1874*, p. 389 *et seq.*
139. *Queensland Votes and Proceedings, 1875*, Volume II. : "The Gracemere Pre-emptive Bill." . . . to his mother at Tolderodden (Brisbane, June 3, 1878).
140. *Rockhampton Morning Bulletin*, February 10, March 14, March 16, March 22, March 29, 1950.
141. Archer Papers, Gracemere : Colin Archer's Journal, 1858-9.
142. Archer Papers, Gracemere : Gracemere Ledger, 1858 *et seq.*
143. Archer Papers, Gracemere : James Archer's Diary, February 20, 1871.
144. Roy Connolly : *Southern Saga*, p. 285.
145. J. A. Macartney, *op. cit.* p. 22.
146. Birkbeck Papers, Glenmore : S. B. Birkbeck's Daybook.
147. Archer Papers, Gracemere : "1872 Balance Sheet, Gracemere," now in the possession of Mr Alister Archer.
148. Archer Papers, Gracemere : Letter from R. S. Archer to his Uncle Archie (from Gracemere, September 13, 1885), now in the possession of Mr Alister Archer.
149. *A Visit to Queensland*, by Charles H. Allen, pp. 85-7.
150. *The British Empire in Australia* (B. Fitzpatrick), p. 236.
151. *The Rockhampton Morning Bulletin* (Pastoral Review), July 9, 1936.

152. Archer Papers, Gracemere : R. S. Archer's letters home, 1882-3 (mostly to his Uncle Archibald and father, David Archer), now at Gracemere in the possession of Mr Alister Archer.
 153. Archer Papers, Gracemere : James Archer's Diary, February 12, 1871.
 154. Archer Papers, Gracemere : A letter from William Archer to his mother at Tølderodden (Gracemere, September 10, 1861).
 155. Archer Papers, Gracemere : Charles Archer to his father, October 3, 1853.
 156. Kennedy Allen, *op. cit.* p. 7.
 157. Archer Papers : Letter from Alexander Archer ("Sandy").
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Notes and Queries.

By JAMES JERVIS, A.S.T.C. (Fellow),
Honorary Research Secretary.

NOTES.

(1) Common salt is an important ingredient in the preparation of man's food, and for a number of years the colonists had to depend upon imports of this commodity. In December, 1804, the *Sydney Gazette* stated that Andrew Thompson (the well-known resident of the Hawkesbury) intended to erect salt pans at Broken Bay, and expected to produce 200 lbs. per week. The pans were erected on Scotland Island, and after his death in 1810 his executors advertised the plant was to be let.

In 1804 two salt pans were brought to Sydney by the ship *Coromandel* for use by the Government. One was set up at Newcastle and the other at Rose Bay. The *Sydney Gazette* in February, 1805, reported that some very fine salt had been sent down to Sydney from Newcastle, and a supply was received from this source for a number of years. The Rose Bay salt pans were purchased by Garnham Blaxcell in 1810 and removed elsewhere. In the following year Blaxcell offered salt for sale at twopence per pound, and later in the year John Blaxland, who had established a salt boiling plant at Newington, also advertised salt at the same price.

A salt boiling plant was in operation at "Cockle Bay" (Darling Harbour) in 1816, and it and land on which it stood were advertised for sale in November, 1816. Probably this was the works owned by Garnham Blaxcell.

One Matthew Bacon, who had salt pans at Middle Harbour, advertised the plant to let in November, 1818. Gregory Blaxland also was interested in the salt-boiling business, and set up salt pans on the sea-front at Newcastle in the early 1820's; his works were abandoned in 1828.

In 1825, Blaxland had salt-boilers at Middle Harbour.

The *Sydney Gazette* of November 18, 1820, referred to the salt-boiling industry at the Hawkesbury River. The report stated that a great deal of salt was made in the colony, but complaint was made about its quality. The careful boilers recovered six per cent. of salt at each boiling, but the careless ones obtained a yield of eight per cent.; this salt contained grit, which rendered it impure.

A Castlereagh Street baker who found grit in his bread examined the salt and found that one-sixteenth of it was grit; this was due to the boilers using sea-water from too close to the shore.

(2) The drunken driver is a menace on the road to-day, but he is not a modern phenomenon. In August, 1821, we find Governor Macquarie issuing a Government Order in the following terms :—

From the frequent and sometimes serious Accidents which occur on the Road between Sydney and Parramatta from the Drunkenness and Carelessness of the Drivers of Waggon and Carts, who being without Reins, and driving at a most furious Rate down Hills without having the least Management of their Horses or Bullock, never keep the near, or left hand side of the Road; His Excellency the Governor with a view to obviate this great Evil, and to protect the peaceable Travellers from the dangerous Consequences thereof, is pleased to direct, that the Pound be forthwith established at the Carters' Barracks adjoining the Brickfields, at Grose Farm and at the Government Farm at Longbottom, with orders to the Constables (who are to act as Pound-keepers at these three several Stations) to stop all Drivers of Waggon or Carts who may be detected in disobeying the Government and General Order. . . .

The constables were instructed to take down the numbers of carts or waggons, the name of the owners of the vehicles, the names of the drivers and their place of residence. If a driver were intoxicated he was to be detained until he was sober. The constables were to make a report to the nearest Magistrate and to request him to summon the party offending to appear on the following morning.

Royal Australian Historical Society.

FIFTY-THIRD

ANNUAL REPORT

AND

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

for 1953

With a List of Members

Presented at the Annual Meeting,

February 23, 1954.

Vol. XXXIX.

Part VII.

Sydney
1954

Royal Australian Historical Society.

53rd ANNUAL REPORT, 1953.

Presented to the Annual Meeting on February 25, 1954.

TO THE MEMBERS,

It is most gratifying to your Council to be able to report that for the first time since 1948 the Society's financial account discloses a small surplus. This result is largely due to the generous support by members of the increased annual subscription. The receipt of a grant-in-aid from the Commonwealth Government, a donation of £80 from the Society's Social Group, and £5 from the Women's Auxiliary were made during the year. In view of the satisfactory financial position it has been possible to carry out some very desirable improvements to History House. The ground floor office has been renovated, the Social Hall on the first floor enlarged and rendered more attractive, while a much-needed *Journal* storage room, with Steelbilt shelves, has provided ample accommodation for several years to come. The Council has made a substantial transfer to the Life Membership Fund.

Your Council is confident that with the continued support of members the improvement in the Society's financial affairs can be maintained in 1954.

Her Majesty's Coronation.

On the occasion of the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II., the Society sent an expression of loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty, which Her Majesty was graciously pleased to acknowledge.

Loyal Address to Her Majesty the Queen.

The Council is alive to the keen interest of the members in the visit to these shores by Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Elizabeth. On their behalf, an address of welcome, expressive of the Society's love and loyalty to the Queen, has been forwarded to the proper authorities.

Membership.

Your Council reluctantly reports a small decrease, slightly smaller than that of 1952. Commencing the year with a checked total membership of 1,290, the year was completed with a decrease of 132, made up by deaths and resignations.

The strength and grade of membership are as follows :—

Patrons	2
Benefactors	8
Life Members	119
Honorary Members	5
Honorary Fellows	2
Financial Members	954
Unfinancial Members to January 1, 1954	68
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Total	1158
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Deaths.

It is with deep regret that we announce the deaths of the following members : M. Ahronson, R. M. Bell, J. H. Cologon, Major E. H. K. Downes, Mrs L. Gill, Miss Annie M. Hall, Henry F. Halloran, Miss Greta McNicol, Mrs M. T. J. Moore and Dr R. J. Whiteman.

Affiliated Societies.

Australian Catholic Historical Society.

Australian Jewish Historical Society.

Australian Railways and Locomotive Historical Society.

Bega Historical Society.

Blue Mountains Historical Society.

Brisbane Water Historical Society.

Campbelltown and Airds Historical Society.

Forbes Historical Society.

Girls' Secondary Schools' Club, Sydney.

Illawarra Historical Society.

Nepean District Historical Society, Penrith.

Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society.

North Shore Reading Circle.

Orange and District Historical Society.

Parramatta and District Historical Society.

Richmond River Historical Society.

Wellington Historical Society.

Fellowship.

During the year the Council conferred a Fellowship of the Society on Mr Wilfred J. Goold, of Newcastle, for his historical research in Australian history.

Mr Goold has been President of the Newcastle and Hunter River Historical Society since its establishment in February, 1936, and two years ago was elected a life member. He has been a member of the Royal Australian Historical Society since

1930. The Newcastle Society has been affiliated with the "Royal" for many years.

Mr Goold has written extensively on the history of Newcastle and the northern districts generally, and has been a regular contributor to the Newcastle Society's excellent monthly journal.

A detached building at his home at Hamilton contains an extensive library and museum in which are housed many historical relics and records, some of which belong to the Newcastle Historical Society. One of the most outstanding exhibits is a model of the *Sophia Jane*, the first steam vessel to trade between Sydney and Newcastle and Mörpeth, which service inaugurated steam navigation in June, 1831.

Members' Meetings.

Ten General Meetings, including the Annual Meeting, were held during the year, all of which were very well attended.

The Annual Meeting was held at History House on February 24, 1953, when the retiring President (Mr J. K. S. Houison) presided over a large attendance.

At the outset of the meeting the retiring President extended a very warm welcome to Mrs A. G. Foster (Fellow, Benefactor and President of the Women's Auxiliary), who held the fine record, Mr Houison said, of not having missed an Annual Meeting since the foundation of the Society in 1901. They all hoped, added Mr Houison, that Mrs Foster would long be spared to take an active interest in the Society.

After the retiring President (Mr J. K. S. Houison) had briefly reviewed the operations of the Society during the year and thanked members for their support during his three years' presidency, the chair was taken by the incoming President (Mr K. R. Cramp), unopposed.

A full report of the Annual Meeting as mentioned above appeared in Vol. XXXIX, Part I., of the Society's "*Journal*."

A number of excellent papers were read to members at monthly meetings during the year, as follows :—

March 31—R. W. Glassford. "A Fleet of Hulks" (illustrated).

April 28—Will Graves Verge : "John Verge—An Early Architect of the 1830's" (illustrated).

May 26—Rev. Archibald Crowley, B.A. : "The Life and Work of Sir Samuel McCaughey" (illustrated).

June 30—E. C. Rowland, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S. (Fellow) : "The Romance of the Western Railway Line" (illustrated)

- July 28—Helen Heney, M.A., Dip.Ed., D.Soc.Sc. : “Towards a Fresh Assessment of Australian History.”
- August 25—A. J. Gray, B.A. : “A Study of First Fleet Convicts.”
- September 29—M. H. Ellis, F.R.A.H.S., F.R.Hist.S. : “The Huon Campaign” (illustrated).
- October 27—James Jervis, A.S.T.C., F.R.A.H.S. : “William Lawson—Explorer and Pioneer” (illustrated).
- November 24—Anthony Musgrave, F.R.Z.S., F.E.S. : “The History of the Cooktown District” (illustrated).

Members' Meetings during 1952.

Owing to the decision of the Council, details of the ten (10) General Meetings held during the year 1952, were not included in the Annual Report for that year, but it is now felt that details of such meetings should be on record. The meetings were as under :—

- March 25—E. C. Rowland, F.R.G.S., F.R.Hist.S. : “The Life and Times of Henry Dangar.”
- April 29—Allan E. Bax : “Australian Merchant Shipping, 1788-1849.”
- May 27—M. H. Ellis, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.A.H.S. : “Sir Edward Macarthur.”
- June 24—J. K. S. Houison, F.C.A. (Aust.), F.I.C.A., F.R.A.H.S., F.S.A.G. : “The Rise of Canberra—a Capital City.”
- July 29—Thomas Kewley, M.A. : “The History of Commonwealth Old-Age and Invalid Pensions.”
- August 26—K. R. Cramp, O.B.E., M.A., F.R.A.H.S. : “Sir George Reid’s Place in the Federal Movement.”
- Sept. 30—Professor John M. Ward, M.A. : “Overseas Historians—The Anglo-American Conference of Historians, 1951.”
- October 28—B. T. Dowd, F.R.A.H.S. : “John Hubert Plunkett, Q.C.”
- November 25—N. R. de Vaux Voss, B.A. : “Early Pastoral Settlement in the Coastal District of Central Queensland.”

Council Meetings.

Eleven Council Meetings were held during the year, the following being the record of attendances :—

<i>President</i> —K. R. Cramp	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
<i>Vice-Presidents</i> —							
G. D. Blaxland (absent owing to illness)							8
J. K. S. Houison	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
Alfred E. Stephen	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
Hugh Wright	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11

<i>Honorary Secretary</i> —E. C. Rowland	9
<i>Honorary Treasurer</i> —Allan E. Bax	11
<i>Honorary Research Secretary</i> —James Jervis	6
<i>Councillors</i> —	
Miss Gladys M. Blacket	10
R. H. Clarke	10
Miss M. B. Coombes	11
William C. Cox	6
George Dickinson	8
Malcolm H. Ellis	8
P. W. Gledhill	8
Arthur Horner	10
Mrs W. L. Havard	9
Aubrey Halloran	10
G. A. King	11
Dr H. Norrie (absent owing to illness)	3
J. T. Prentice	11
C. A. Swinbourne	6
H. R. Thompson	8

The Society's Patrons.

The Society was greatly honoured during the year by His Excellency the Governor-General, Field-Marshal Sir William Slim, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., granting his Patronage to the Society.

His Excellency Lieut-General Sir John Northcott, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O., honoured the Society with his presence at the General Meeting held on September 29, 1953, when Mr M. H. Ellis (Fellow) addressed members on "The Huon Campaign." At the conclusion of the address, Sir John Northcott (who at the time of the campaign was Chief of the Australian General Staff) referred in eulogistic terms to Mr Ellis' work in the cause of Australian history generally. His Excellency said that the address had been of very great personal interest to himself because of his close association with the campaign.

Lieut-General F. H. Berryman, Officer Commanding the Eastern Command, also spoke and gave some most interesting and lighter sidelights on the campaign. Major-General W. J. B. Windeyer also spoke and said that Mr Ellis had given a close and very comprehensive review of what had been involved in the Huon Campaign, in one part of which he and his brigade had done their best. Major-General Windeyer pointed out that Mr Ellis had sketched in the complete background against which Australian soldiers had successfully fought and beaten the foe.

Historical Societies in the Country.

Reports from affiliated Societies indicate that good work is being done by the country societies. The Honorary Secretary (Mr E. C. Rowland) addressed the Wellington Historical Society, and, as a result of an address given in the Lismore Town Hall by the General Secretary (Mr C. Price Conigrave), the Richmond River Historical Society was enthusiastically re-formed after having lapsed for some years.

Honorary Research Secretary.

Many inquiries concerning Australian history have been received from interested persons, and have been referred to the Honorary Research Secretary (Mr James Jervis). One inquiry came from the United States, and the desired information was found and sent to the inquirer. Requests also came from New Zealand and Western Australia, and the Research Secretary was able to help persons inquiring.

Mr Jervis also did some work for affiliated Societies. As in previous years, outings were organized for the boys of The King's School, and the lads showed much interest and compiled good essays for their Master (Rev. H. Baker). Mr Jervis visited a number of State Schools during the year, and gave talks on the history of the locality concerned. In each case the teachers were given sets of notes which will assist them in their work. Mr Jervis acted as guide to the Illawarra Historical Society when that body visited the Dundas-Castle Hill area, and also when it organized an excursion to the Robertson-Moss Vale-Bowral district.

Excursions.

Eleven monthly excursions were held during the year, the first—on January 24—being the usual pilgrimage to Camp Cove, where, at the Phillip Memorial, in an address, the significance of Captain Arthur Phillip's arrival in Port Jackson in January, 1788, was stressed by the retiring President, Mr J. K. S. Houison (Fellow).

February 21: Fort Denison.—A very large number of members visited this historic island in Sydney Harbour. Various interesting relics in the Fort were inspected, following which afternoon tea was taken in most pleasant surroundings with the white wings of yachts adding beauty to the scene.

March 28: Tempe, Bexley and Rockdale.—This was a very well-attended excursion, the party at the outset assembling at St Magdalene's Retreat (Sisters of the Good Samaritan), Princes Highway; Arncliffe, on the bank of the Cook's River, which was

formerly the home of A. B. Sparks, when it was known as Tempe House. The party was graciously received by the Mother Superior and Sisters of the Order, and allowed to inspect this once beautiful old home. From St Magdalene's a visit was made to Forest Road, where the site of the former Highbury Barn Inn was inspected. Thence the party proceeded to Bexley, where, through the kindness of the Long family, the earlier home of Joseph Davis was inspected, from where a sweeping view of Botany Bay was obtained. At the Methodist Church, Bay Street, Rockdale, the party was welcomed by the Rev. N. Kline, B.A., the church inspected and afternoon tea taken in the church grounds. Mr Philip Geeves (Member) added interest to the outing by reason of his most interesting talks here and there on the history of the areas traversed during the excursion.

May 2: Kurnell.—The usual trip to Kurnell, which, as in former years, had been arranged in conjunction with the Captain Cook Landing Place Trust, had to be abandoned owing to inclement weather.

May 23: Dundas, Castle Hill and Dural.—A large party travelled from West Ryde in special buses to Rydalmer, where a historical address was given by the Honorary Research Secretary (Mr James Jervis) (Fellow). The journey was then continued to Koala Farm, West Pennant Hills, where luncheon was taken. The party then proceeded to Castle Hill where lovely landscapes met the eye. The site of the old Government Farm established in the early days of New South Wales by Governor Philip Gidley King was inspected and a further interesting talk given by Mr Jervis. During the afternoon a visit was made to the picturesque St Jude's Church of England, Dural, where the party was welcomed by the Rector's Warden, Mr Thomas Roden, and an address given by Mr. Jervis. Afternoon tea was taken in Galston Park nearby.

June 27: Sydney Botanic Gardens.—This excursion was very well attended, the party being welcomed at the entrance to Sydney Botanic Gardens by the Curator of the Gardens and of the National Herbarium, Mr R. H. Anderson, B.Sc.Agric. Later, under the guidance of Mr R. H. Clarke (Councillor), members visited various parts of the Gardens, when Mr Clarke gave some interesting chats on the relevant history of the surroundings.

July 25: St James' Church, Sydney.—A large number of members, headed by the President (Mr K. R. Cramp), attended this historic Church on July 25, to take part in a special service

arranged by the Rector (Canon E. J. Davidson, B.A.), Church Wardens and members of St James' Church Restoration Committee. His Excellency the Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir John Northcott, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O., unveiled a stone commemorating the beginning of the work of restoring the weathered sandstone of St James' Church. The dedication of the stone was performed by the Archbishop of Sydney, Most Rev. Dr H. W. K. Mowll, M.A. At the conclusion of the ceremony the company was entertained at afternoon tea in the Crypt.

August 22: The Mitchell Library, Sydney.—A large number of our members visited the Mitchell Library on the above date, when the party was welcomed by Miss Phyllis Mander Jones, B.A. (Member), the Mitchell Librarian, who gave a most interesting address on some of the riches of "The Mitchell." The Society is most grateful to Miss Mander Jones, who escorted the party through the Library and the Dixson Gallery, for a most enjoyable excursion.

September 26: Vaucluse and Watson's Bay.—At St Peter's Church of England, overlooking Watson's Bay, the Rector, Rev. R. F. C. Bradley, welcomed a party of members that filled the historic edifice, when Mr Jervis outlined the history of the Church and locality. Members later visited the waterfront at Watson's Bay, where Mr Jervis gave a further talk on the history of Dunbar House, which is still standing, and of Clovelly House, which has long since been demolished. Afternoon tea was taken under wide-spreading trees in the Park, where the Robert Watson Memorial is a prominent feature.

October 24: National Park and Wattamolla.—The consensus of opinion of a large number of members who attended this excursion was that it was one of the most interesting excursions of the year. Having travelled by train to Waterfall, the party proceeded from there in special 'buses by way of Lady Carrington Drive through National Park. A short stop was made on the river bank, where the beauty of the stream and the adjacent timber-clad ranges impressed everyone present.

The head of Providential Cove, Wattamolla, was reached at midday. The great historic interest of the locality is the fact that Matthew Flinders, George Bass and the boy Martin, ran for shelter there from tempestuous seas in the *Tom Thumb* on the night of March 29, 1798.

Following lunch, the President (Mr K. R. Cramp) (Fellow) outlined the history connected with Wattamolla, and Mr James Jervis (Fellow) also spoke. From Wattamolla the party pro-

ceeded over typical coastal heath country and heavily-timbered hills, where flowering gums gave pleasing contrast to the landscape, to Allambie, where afternoon tea was taken in the beautiful grounds of the well-known guest house there. The return to Sydney was made by train from National Park station.

November 21: Hawkesbury River Mouth and Pittwater, via Brooklyn.—A very enjoyable excursion was held on this date, a very large number of members being present. The party went by train to Hawkesbury River Bridge (Brooklyn), and from there travelled on board the spacious river steamer, *West Head*, in charge of Captain Wichard, who over the steamer's public address system showed that he had much of the river history at his finger-tips. The party was taken under the Hawkesbury River Railway Bridge, and at a point near the great vehicular bridge the steamer proceeded downstream, passing Cowan Waters, Challenger Head and Patonga into Broken Bay. A very fresh breeze and a good roll when the steamer rounded West Head into Pittwater added excitement to the proceedings, and all on board greatly admired the marvellous views secured of Barrenjoey Headland, with its lighthouse crowning its topmost point. Pittwater was followed to the south past such beauty spots as The Basin, Newport, Bay View and Scotland Island, the latter having been a grant to Andrew Thompson in 1810. Lunch was taken at Church Point, and the steamer later proceeded to the mouth of McCarr's Creek. Short historical addresses were given during the day by Mr P. W. Gledhill (Fellow), and jollity was added to the outing by whimsical talks by the President (Mr Cramp), Mr Aubrey Halloran (Fellow) and Messrs S. A. Ravenscroft and John D. Tipper.

Afternoon tea having been taken at Patonga, the party returned to Brooklyn, where they entrained for Sydney late in the afternoon.

Federal Grant to Society.

As the outcome of a conference between the President and Mr William Charles Wentworth, M.H.R., the latter gentleman sponsored an appeal to the Federal Government for an annual grant-in-aid to the Society on the ground that its cultural interests covered the whole continent of Australia. We are particularly indebted to Mr Wentworth for his enthusiastic interest in the Society's activities, which has resulted in a substantial conditional annual grant.

Speakers from the Society.

The President (Mr K. R. Cramp) gave several addresses on "The Recognition of Governor Arthur Phillip in England"

before leading organizations such as the Ex-Inspectors of Schools Association, the Women's Pioneer Society, the Genealogical Society, the Australian Methodist Historical Society, as well as at All Saints' Church, Balgowlah, and St Peter's Church, Cooks River.

Other addresses, all with a historical theme, were given by Messrs. R. H. Clarke, B. T. Dowd, M. H. Ellis, Aubrey Halloran, W. L. Havard, J. K. S. Houison, P. W. Gledhill, G. A. King, the Honorary Secretary (Mr E. C. Rowland), the Honorary Treasurer (Mr Allan E. Bax), the Honorary Research Secretary (Mr James Jervis), and the General Secretary (Mr C. Price Conigrave).

The Womens Auxiliary.

Office-bearers of the Women's Auxiliary for 1953 were : *President*, Mrs A. G. Foster (Fellow) ; *Vice-Presidents*, Mesdames J. A. Shaw, W. J. Dellow, A. S. How and Misses F. Lowe, E. Seppelt and R. Suttor ; *Honorary Secretary*, Mrs W. L. Havard ; *Honorary Treasurer*, Miss M. B. Coombes.

Committee meetings have been held at History House, where members have been happy to see their President able to return to her accustomed place. Members and friends have continued to meet in the Foster Room for card afternoons on the first Wednesday of each month. Members have acted throughout the year as hostesses at afternoon tea.

On September 30, the twenty-sixth anniversary of the formation of the Auxiliary was celebrated by a social afternoon, a musical programme being arranged by Mrs B. Lee. A cheque for £5/5/- was presented, as a donation to the Society, to the President, Mr K. R. Cramp.

The last function of the year was the Christmas Party on December 2, the musical programme on this occasion being arranged by Mrs Bruce Abercrombie.

Prizes.

The following prizes were awarded during the year :—

(1) HUME-BARBOUR DEBATING TROPHY : Sydney Boys' High School versus Fort Street High School. *Topic* : "That Unification is a more desirable form of Government than Federation for Australia." *Winning Team* : Sydney Boys' High School (affirmative), represented by John Hislop, Robert Bolton, Ian Kennedy.

(2) THE T. E. ROFE PRIZE for the best essay on "Was the deposition of Bligh justified ?" Won by Jan B. Garrett, of Barker College, Hornsby. Six entries were received, and Mrs

W. L. Havard, who judged the entries, reports that the entries were of a high standard, with the subject well covered.

(3) THE F. A. MACTIER PRIZE for the best essay on "An episode in the history of my district." Seven entries were received and the winner was Janet Moncrieff Matthews, of "Meriden," Church of England Girls' Grammar School, Strathfield, her subject being "The Battle of Vinegar Hill." Mrs W. L. Havard kindly judged the entries.

The High Schools' K. R. Cramp Junior Debating Competition was won by North Sydney High School, which competed against the Hurlstone Agricultural High School in the final debate. The winning school was represented by I. Bedford, I. Lawrence and D. Ferrars. At the request of the High School's Debating Committee, the adjudication was made by your President, as it was the first occasion that the competition was organized under his name.

Public School Scholars.

Two visits were made during the year to History House by scholars, both boys and girls, from public schools. The parties were shown over History House, and were addressed in the hall by the General Secretary, Mr C. Price Conigrave, who illustrated his remarks with lantern slides.

Visits to Historical Points by Public School Scholars.

The Honorary Research Secretary, Mr James Jervis, is sincerely thanked for his enthusiastic work in addressing the scholars of various public schools, and in conducting parties of boys to various historical localities. This work is most valuable in so far that it is inculcating in the scholars a healthy interest in Australian history.

"The Journal."

Your Council is glad to report that many of the difficulties in publishing the *Journal* immediately prior to this year have been overcome, and the lag in the publishing programme has been overtaken. Five *Journals* have been published during the year, and the Council is glad to report that owing to an improvement in the financial condition of the Society, the *Journal* has been restored to 64 pages. The Editorial Committee reported from time to time during the year on relevant matters, and the Editor (Mr C. Price Conigrave), as usual, has been enthusiastic in his work with respect to the *Journal*.

R.A.H.S. Social Group.

The Social Group, which was formed towards the end of 1952, has had a very successful year. A number of social evenings were held on the third Saturday of each month from March to November, both inclusive, these gatherings being well attended by members and their friends. The Group was formed so that it could assist in raising funds for the Society, and in this regard it has been most successful. The Society is very appreciative of the donation of the sum of £80 by the Group to the Society, this handsome amount having been from the proceeds of the gatherings organized during the year. The cheque for the above amount was handed to the Vice-President (Mr Aubrey Halloran) (Fellow), in the unavoidable absence of the President (Mr K. R. Cramp) from the Christmas Party, under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary, held on December 2.

The meetings of the Group were well varied, Mr S. H. Ravenscroft on two occasions screening some of his beautiful coloured slides that illustrated his trips abroad. Mr H. R. Thompson (Councillor) on April 25 showed and described some very interesting films.

An insight into the huge Snowy Mountains hydro-electric scheme was given by Colonel G. E. Ramsay, Public Relations Officer of the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Authority, when on May 16 he screened a number of splendid films which illustrated the vastness of the scheme. In June a Dickens evening was held, at which the President (Mr K. R. Cramp) rendered several recitals from Dickens, these being both grave and gay, and character sketches from Dickens were also given by Mr Harold Fraser. Mr Brian Chaseling was the speaker at the July gathering, when he told a most intriguing story of his travels through Asia, illustrating his remarks with a remarkable series of lantern slides. At the August meeting Professor Harvey Sutton, O.B.E., M.D., B.Sc., spoke on "The Life and Health Conditions at the time of Queen Elizabeth I."

The evening of September 19 was devoted to the recital of some of their experiences by New Australians and they also contributed some of their national songs, which greatly pleased the audience. October 31 was devoted to a description of New York by Professor J. Andrews, Ph.D., when an interesting address was interspersed with many excellent lantern slides.

In November, at the last gathering of the year, Mr S. H. Ravenscroft screened some of his beautiful coloured films taken

in the United Kingdom. Opportunity was taken at this meeting to refer to the forthcoming departure of Mrs Beryl Lee on a tour abroad, and best wishes were expressed to her.

Captain James Cook's Second Voyage—Copy of Cook's Journal.

During November, 1953, the President (Mr K. R. Cramp) visited Canberra in order to be present, as the guest of the Hon. the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Hon. A. Cameron, M.P.), at an interesting ceremony, when his Excellency the Governor-General, Field-Marshal Sir William Slim, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., handed to the Prime Minister (Rt Hon. R. G. Menzies) a photostat of Captain James Cook's Journal of his second voyage round the world, for depositing in the National Library, Canberra.

Captain James Cook Memorial, Norfolk Island.

On July 24, 1953, a memorial to Captain James Cook was unveiled at Duncombe, Norfolk Island, by Mrs J. D. McComish. A movement towards the erection of this memorial was set afoot years ago by the late Captain J. D. McComish (Member), who had been residing on Norfolk Island. The island community supported the proposal, and an outstanding contribution was an amount of £38 raised by the Norfolk Island Public School. The Society had undertaken, some years ago, to contribute an amount towards the memorial, and eventually the Commonwealth Government undertook to contribute an amount in addition to the contributions in hand, so that a fine obelisk might be erected. A plaque on the memorial bears the following inscription :—

Captain James Cook, R.N.,
on his 2nd voyage round the World,
discovered and named this Island
Norfolk Isle,
landing in the vicinity of this point on October 10th, 1774.
R.A.H.S.

The unveiling ceremony was presided over by the Administrator of Norfolk Island, Brigadier H. B. Norman, D.S.O., M.C.

Marking of Historical Sites.

The London County Council sent to the Society some interesting information and photographs with respect to the marking of historical sites in London. This matter was of great value to the Society.

Commemorative Stamps.

A suggestion was made to the Postmaster-General that stamps to commemorate the Centenary of steam navigation on

the River Murray was made, but unfortunately this request was not granted.

Presbyterian Church, Ebenezer.

Early in the year, representatives of the Society attended the 144th Anniversary Celebrations held at the above historic Church on the banks of the Hawkesbury River.

Proposed Transport Museum.

The Society supported the proposal of the Australian Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, that the Ultimo Tram Depot might be set aside as a Transport Museum, but the Minister for Transport did not grant the request.

Matthew Flinders Memorial, Gladstone, North Queensland.

The Gladstone Municipal Council donated interesting photographs of the unveiling of the above memorial.

Henry Parkes School, Coventry, England.

Following on a suggestion made by Mr K. R. Cramp, when visiting England, the Town Clerk, Council House, Coventry, informed the Society that the naming of class-rooms at the Henry Parkes School, Coventry, had been carried out in the Infants' Department as follows : Kangaroo, Koala, Wallaby, Lyre Bird, and Black Swan.

Proposed National Memorial to Sir Henry Parkes at Tenterfield.

An invitation was extended to the President to attend a memorial celebration at Tenterfield on October 24, 1953, in connexion with a proposed national memorial to Sir Henry Parkes. It was at Tenterfield that Parkes made his famous speech that gave birth to the Federal movement. As it was impossible for the President to attend this function, Council deputed the Honorary Secretary (Mr E. C. Rowland) to act for him, and Mr Rowland accordingly represented the Society.

The Five Islands Group off Port Kembla.

The Society supported the Illawarra Historical Society in a request to the Minister for Lands, that the individual islands forming this group be renamed in accordance with their historical import. The request was granted.

Restoration of Historical Churches.

The Society supported the respective appeals by the authorities of St James' Church, Sydney, Christ Church St Laurence, Sydney, and St Matthew's Church, Windsor, for the restoration

of these historic Churches. In all cases the stonework had badly fretted with the passage of time, and, at a high cost, is being replaced.

Restoration of the G.P.O. Clock and Tower, Sydney.

The Society supported a movement during the year for the restoration of the tower and clock of the General Post Office, Martin Place, Sydney, that were removed owing to the exigencies of war conditions. The Society was informed by the Commonwealth Government that, although it was sympathetic to the suggestion, other public works of high priority had to take precedence before such restoration could be carried out.

Captain Arthur Phillip Memorials.

Consideration was given during the year to a memorial to Captain Phillip at Sydney Cove, reading as follows.—

Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N. / In command of the "First Fleet" / Landed on the shore of this Cove / On January 26th, 1788 / And established the first / British Settlement in Australia. On February 7th, 1788 / The Royal Commission proclaiming / Captain Phillip as Captain-General / And Governor-in-Chief of / New South Wales / was read.

R.A.H.S.

The Maritime Services Board had co-operated with the Society, and it is hoped that a commemorative obelisk will shortly be erected in front of the Maritime Services Board Building, West Circular Quay, Sydney.

During the year the Society requested the Minister for Agriculture to have repairs carried out to the Captain Phillip Memorial in the Botanic Gardens, Sydney, the inscription upon which had become practically indecipherable.

The Randwick Municipal Council, at the request of the Society, has generously undertaken to erect an obelisk at La Perouse to commemorate Captain Arthur Phillip's landing there in 1788. The Randwick Council has also donated a metal plaque bearing the following inscription :—

To found the Colony of New South Wales / Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N. / arrived / in Botany Bay / in the Ship "Supply" / which was moored off this site / on January 18, 1788.

R.A.H.S.

Erected by the Municipality of Randwick. / N. J. Dwyer, Mayor.
2.12.1953.

H.M.S. "Supply" / was anchored approximately one mile W. by N.W.
in this direction / and off Yarra Bay.

Historical Memorials and Plaques in New South Wales.

On the suggestion of the Historical Memorials Committee, steps were taken to prepare a complete list of all historical

memorials and plaques throughout New South Wales. Through the valued assistance of municipal and shire councils throughout the State, a very full list of such memorials and plaques has been prepared.

Court House, Berrima.

The Society was requested by the Shire of Mittagong to support a movement for the preservation of the historic Court House at Berrima. The matter having been taken up with the competent State authorities, repairs have been carried out.

The late Dr Roland J. Pope.

Under the will of the late Dr Roland J. Pope, for many years an esteemed member of the Society, a bequest of £100 from his estate was received during the year.

St John the Baptist Church, Ashfield.

Representatives of the Society attended the 113th Anniversary Annual Service of Remembrance held at the above church on September 5, 1953.

The Library.

A number of valuable books and much historical matter has been added to the Library during the year. Mr Hugh Wright has been indefatigable in indexing and classifying library material, in which work he has been assisted very enthusiastically by Mr J. T. Prentice, and in later months by Mr A. J. Gray, B.A.

Donations.

Members and others have donated, during the year, a number of pictures, photographs, books, documents, etc., and the Council expresses its appreciation of such gifts. Donors have been duly thanked and an announcement made of each presentation at each monthly meeting.

Messrs J. K. S. Houison and Allan E. Bax presented a facsimile copy of the *Sydney Gazette*, 1803/4—a most valuable addition to our Library.

Acknowledgments.

The best thanks of the Society are extended to members of the various Committees who, during the year, have given earnest consideration to many matters on behalf of the Council.

To the Womens Auxiliary and the R.A.H.S. Social Group the Society is indebted for monetary donations.

To the Returning Officer (Mr W. J. Dellow) and the

various gentlemen who assisted him in the conduct of the annual elections, sincere thanks are expressed.

The Society records its great appreciation of the valuable work done for the Society by the Honorary Auditors, Messrs Norman B. Lewis, F.C.A. (Aust.), and Mr H. W. McKisack, F.C.A. (Aust.).

The Council expresses its best thanks to its Honorary Solicitor (Mr Aubrey Halloran) for valued advice tendered during the year.

The Council thanks Mr Ward L. Havard (Fellow) for his valuable work in continuing the card index to the *Journal*.

The Council and members are grateful to Mr James Jervis, Honorary Research Secretary, for the many interesting addresses that he gave at the year's excursions, and for his fine work in answering very many historical queries during the year.

The expanding work connected with the Society has been carried out enthusiastically and very capably by the General Secretary and Editor, Mr C. Price Conigrave, Mr George Daniels, Mrs N. Paskin, and, after the latter's resignation in August last, Miss Gay Sellin, and to these officers the Council expresses its thanks for so capably carrying out their many duties.

K. R. CRAMP,
President.

Addendum.

I wish to add an expression of thanks to the Honorary Secretary, Mr E. C. Rowland, whose interest in the Society's work has been much appreciated. During December, the Council learned with regret of the early departure for Tasmania of Mr Rowland, and his valuable work as a member of the Council for many years, and as Honorary Secretary for the past two years, is very greatly appreciated. During December an appropriate presentation was made to Mr Rowland at an afternoon tea tendered to him at History House by the President and Council.

To the Honorary Treasurer, Mr Allan E. Bax, the Society is greatly indebted for his most capable handling of the financial affairs of the Society.

K. R. CRAMP,
President.

ROYAL AUSTRALIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(A Company with Capital Limited by Guarantee.)

Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ended 31st December, 1953.

EXPENDITURE.		INCOME.	
1952	£	1953	£
1327	To Salaries	1303	By Subscriptions and Affiliation Fees received
141	" Printing and Stationery	199	55 " In Arrear
132	" Telephone and Postage	1735	1735 " Current
87	" General Expenses	59	29 " Proportion of Life Membership
18	" Fares, etc.	39	99 " Entrance Fees
38	" Binding Books, etc.	99	157 " Sales Journals
1052	" Less amount paid by Members	89	7 " Badges
113	1082 Printing and Posting "Journals", "Sundry Income	946	5 "
59	" Printing and Posting Monthly Notices	119	327 "
30	113 Expenses Annual Election	53	8 "
31	30 Library Expenses	48	105 " Donations
32	31 Pay Roll Tax	26	9 " Surplus on Excursions
	32 Interest paid on Overdraft	103	1 " Interest on Investments
	Provision for Maintenance of Building	750	97 " N.S. Wales Government Grant
	" Provision for Life Memberships	250	750 " Commonwealth Government Grant
	Net Surplus for year transferred to Accumulation Account	3946	500 " Bequests
		859	100 "
			140 " Net Deficiency transferred to Accumulation Account
			£3060 £4805 £14805

ROYAL AUSTRALIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
 (A Company with Capital Limited by Guarantee.)
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1953.
 (Adjusted to nearest £.)

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
1952 £	1953 £	1952 £	1953 £
1178 Commercial Banking Co. of Sydney Ltd.	-	14 Cash in Hand	14
CREDITORS—		Commercial Banking Co. of Sydney Ltd., Head Office	38
340 Provision for Unpublished "Journal," 1953	350	Commonwealth Savings Bank of Australia, Pass Book No. S5322	133
154 Provision for Unpaid Accounts	346	Commonwealth Savings Bank of Australia, Pass Book No. S18142 (Prize Fund Interest)	73
122 Subscriptions in Advance	105	Commonwealth Savings Bank of Australia, Pass Book No. S18802 (Life Members' Account)	299
450 PRIZE FUNDS—Capital	801	Australian Consolidated Treasury Bonds (at cost) (Nominal Value £400)	400
72 Interest	450	Australian Commonwealth Inscribed Stock (at cost) (Nominal value, £2,800)—	450
LIFE MEMBERSHIP CAPITAL FUND—		Prize Funds	2349
Balance at 1st January, 1952	523	Other Reserves	2799
Amounts received during year	257	Furniture and Fittings (at cost)	1879
Transfer to Fund	42	Less Provision for Depreciation	1396
258	250	314 Land and Building (at cost)	483
RESERVE ACCOUNTS—			15,599
250 Historical Work	250		
850 Building Extension	850		
207 Maintenance of Building	958		
300 Historical Source Material	300		
ACCUMULATION ACCOUNT—			
Balance at 1st January, 1953	15519		
Add Net overall surplus for year, viz.:			
Surplus Royal Australian Historical Society	859		
Less Deficiency History House	771		
15,519	88	15,607	£19,838
£19,700			£19,838
			£19,838

HONORARY AUDITORS' REPORT.

In accordance with the Articles of Association, we have examined the Books, Documents and Vouchers of the Royal Australian Historical Society submitted for our inspection, and now report to the members that the above Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the Books of the Society.

We further report that, in our opinion, the Register of Members, and other records which the Society is required to keep by law or by its Articles, have been properly kept.

We have made inquiry of the Honorary Secretary of the Society as to whether the Society has complied with the provisions of the Unclaimed Money's Act, 1917, so far as it applies to the Society, and have been informed that the Society has so complied. We have received all the information and explanations we have required.

Sydney : 25th January, 1954.

NORMAN B. LEWIS, F.C.A. (Aust.) Honorary
H. W. MACKISACK, F.C.A. (Aust.) Auditors.

HISTORY HOUSE

Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ended 31st December, 1953.

	EXPENDITURE.	1952 £	1953 £	1952 £	INCOME.	1953 £
753 To Wages, etc.	792	530	By Rentals—			627
165 " Cleaning Premises	169	798	Tenancies			828
177 " Light and Power	207	4	Casual Lettings			1455
320 " Rates and Taxes	567	" Surplus on catering	70			4
56 Insurance on Buildings, etc.	275	1332				1459
149 " Repairs and Maintenance	26	433	" Net Deficiency transferred to Accumulation			771
20 " General Expenses	125	£1765	Account			£2230
125 " Depreciation on Furniture	£2230					

MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL AUSTRALIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PATRONS:

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF AUSTRALIA,
FIELD-MARSHAL SIR WILLIAM SLIM, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.S.O., M.C.**

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF NEW SOUTH WALES,
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN NORTHCOTT, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O.**

NOTE.—Members are requested to inform the General Secretary of any omissions or errors in this list.

FINANCIAL MEMBERS:

1924	Abel, Mrs M. M. H.	1938	Australian War Memorial, Canberra.
1947	Abercrombie, Mrs Bruce.	1947	Baalman, John.
1943	Adam, Miss Ruth I.	1945	Backhouse, Rev. Nigel a'Beckett T., B.A., Dip. Ed.
1950	Adams, Mrs M. Hypatia.	1947	Backhouse, Robert G.
1950	Adair, Mrs M. J.	1947	Badgery, Miss Rosalind L.
1946	Addison, Irving L., LL.B.	1943	Bagot, Alan (L.).
1937	*Ahronson, M. (L.).	1939	Bailey, Mrs A. (L.).
1921	Alexander, Frank Lee.	1945	Baldock, William J.
1951	Alexander, Mrs F. M.	1937	Bales, Richard (B. 1941).
1933	*Allard, Sir George Mason	1944	Balmain, Miss Violet.
1946	Allars, Kenneth Graham, B.A., LL.B.	1951	Bampton, Mrs H.
1947	Allen, C. W. B.	1951	Bampton, John D.
1945	Allen, Miss Dorothy A. (L.).	1927	Barbour, Mrs E. C. (L.).
1951	Allen, Mrs Norman.	1924	Barbour, Geoffrey Hume (L.).
1930	Allen, Percy S.	1924	Barbour, Patrick Hume (L.).
1948	Allen, Mrs A. M. (L.).	1938	Bardwell, Miss Edith A. (L.).
1952	Allen, Raymond.	1946	Barnet, Miss Mary I. McKay.
1942	d'Alpuget, Miss Blanche.	1945	Barrett, Charles.
1935	Anderson, A. K., M. A., F.R.Hist.S. (Scots College).	1952	Barron, Mrs A. D.
1948	Anderson, Mrs J. E. S.	1949	Barter, John
1947	Anderson, Scott.	1952	Bassett, Mrs W. E.
1930	Angus & Robertson Ltd.	1953	Bateson, Charles Henry.
1945	Antill, James Macquarie, B.E., M.I.E. (Aust.), A.M.Inst.M.M. (L.).	1950	Bax, Allan Ernest.
1932	Archer, George Lindsay	1952	Bax, Mrs A. E.
1937	Armstrong, Hon. Thomas, M.L.C.	1942	Bayley, Miss Lillian, G., B.A.
1949	Arndell, R. M.	1946	Bayley, W. A., J.P. (L.).
1949	Arndell, Mrs R. M.	1948	(Fellow, 1951).
1941	Arnott, David W. W.	1920	Beale, Edgar.
1941	Arnott, Mrs David W. W.	1950	Bean, Dr C. E. W., M.A., B.C.L. (Hon. Fellow, 1937).
1953	Ash, R. E.	1942	Beanham, William H. (L.).
1943	Atterton, Miss Beatrice S., B.A., Dip.Ed.	1948	Beard, William.
1948	Aubrey, Mrs K., M.A.	1945	Beattie, E. D.
1952	Austin, A. W.	1949	Beddie, Miss Janet.
1933	Austin, Miss Ida Agnes.	1933	*Bell, R. M.
1948	Australian News and Information Bureau, London.	1948	Benjamin, David J., LL.B.
		1950	Bennett, C. W. L.
		1942	Bennett, Miss Mary K.

1942	Bennett, Miss M. M.	1943	Bushell, Miss Patricia.
1933	Benson, Mrs H. W.	1952	Bushell, Miss Vera M.
1946	Bergner, Albert Eric (L.).	1944	Butlin, Professor S. J., M.A. (Camb.), B.Ec. (Syd.).
1952	Berrick, Alan E.	1948	Butters, Edward M.
1942	Beveridge, Miss Delores.	1934	Byrne, Miss Lily C., B.A.
1920	Bezer, Mrs W. H.		
1947	Binnie, Ernest St J.	1951	Cable, F. W.
1933	Black, John Yamala.	1950	Cable, Kenneth J., B.A.
1947	Black, R. Lindsay.	1939	Cadwallader, John.
1921	Black, Reginald W.	1936	Callaway, Eric.
1943	Blacket, Miss Gladys M.	1943	Cameron, Bertie Allan.
1946	Blacket, Stirling F. (L.).	1934	Cameron, Ernest.
1919	Bland, Professor F. Armand, M.A., LL.B., M.P.	1943	Campbell, Arthur A.
1918	Blaxland, Guy D.	1943	Campbell, Mrs Arthur A.
1944	Blaxland, Mrs Guy D.	1952	Campbell, Mrs E. M.
1944	Blomfield, Richard Geoffrey (L.).	1945	Campbell, Mrs Gavin.
1944	Booth, Albert.	1949	Campbell, Mrs Jeannette.
1951	Booth, Miss D.	1950	Campbell, Miss Sybil J.
1919	Borsdorff, Mrs L. (L.).	1944	Campbell-Brown, Miss Agnes.
1952	Bouckley, George H.	1952	Canberra University College.
1949	Boughton, Charles F.	1941	Cane, Fred. J.
1944	Bowmaker, Robert Osbourne.	1950	Cann, Mrs J. I.
1937	Bowman, E. Kenneth.	1946	Cardew, Cornelius A.
1943	Box, Robert G. H.	1921	Cardew, Miss G. M. A.
1932	Box, Mrs R. G. H. (L.).	1920	Carey, Miss Hilda.
1946	Bracey, Eric.	1952	Carne, Miss L. F.
1950	Bradbury, Miss H. M.	1948	Carroll, Dalton.
1934	Bradley, F. R., A.M.I.E.	1944	Carter, Capt. Francis, F.R.G.S.
1951	Bradshaw, Rev. Norman T.	1952	Carter, John E.
1949	Brennan, J. K.	1948	Carver, A. Havelock, LL.B.
1947	Brient, Albert L.	1948	Carver, Mrs E. I.
1947	Brient, Mrs A. L.	1946	Cayley, Henry Francis.
1929	Broad, Arthur P. R.	1945	Chadwick, Miss Doris, B.A., Dip.Ed.
1950	Brown, Miss Agnes M.	1919	Chambers, W. Clark.
1945	Brown, Albert George.	1951	Chambers, William.
1945	Brown, Mrs Albert George.	1947	Champion, Arthur Handasyde.
1947	Brown, Robert Mackay.	1948	Champion, Arthur L.
1939	Brown, Miss Rosina M., B.A.	1929	Champion, B. W., D.D.Sc.
1947	Bruce-Smith, Miss Barbara.	1949	Chaplin, Miss Constance L.
1952	Bryan, Jock H.	1916	Chilton, F.
1946	Brydon, Walter Raymond (L.).	1949	Chisholm, Alec H.
1948	Buckmaster, Miss S. M.	1938	Chisholm, Miss Elizabeth M. (L.).
1945	Buesst, Tristan N. M. (L.).	1945	Christie, Miss E. M.
1945	Burfitt, Walter S.	1934	Christie, Miss Margaret (L.).
1945	Burfitt, Mrs Walter S.	1952	Chudleigh, Miss Helen L., B.A.
1939	Burfitt-Williams, Dr Grosvenor.	1949	Clark, Professor Charles M. H.
1917	Buring, Leo.	1937	*Clark, Sir Marcus.
1954	Burke, E. Keast, B.Sc.	1953	Clark, Miss M. E.
1944	Burley, Frederick Richard.	1940	Clarke, R. H.
1933	Burr, Miss I.	1943	Clarke, Richard H. J.
1952	Burrows, Mrs J. W.	1918	Cleland, Professor John Burton, C.B.E., M.D., Ch.M.
1952	Burrows, Ronald G.		
1945	Busby, Mrs H. O.		
1952	Bushell, Miss Gladys P.		

1945	Clifton, Charles D.	1949	Cubis, Capt. Richard.
1931	Clune, Francis Patrick.	1935	Culverwell, G. E.
1949	Clyne, Hon. Daniel, M.L.A.	1925	Currey, Dr Charles H., M.A. (Fellow, 1945).
1923	Cohen, Mrs Victor I.	1950	Currie, Miss J. M.
1941	Cole, G. F. V., F.S.A.G.	1951	Cuthbert, Miss Gwen H.
1950	Cole, Miss T. M.	1951	Cuthbert, Mrs Jessie H.
1949	Coles, Miss Eileen Grace.	1935	Daley, Bernard T.
1941	Coles, Frederick V.	1953	Dally, Miss Joan E.
1941	Coles, Mrs F. V.	1953	Dally, Mrs Johanna M.
1953	Collett, Sister Kathleen.	1945	Dan, George.
1918	Collingridge, J.	1950	Danganfield, Mrs F.
1954	Collins, Dr A. J., D.S.O., M.C., M.B., Ch.M.	1950	Dangar, Peter.
1932	Collins, Clifford M.	1943	Daniels, George.
1941	Collis, Arthur G.	1943	Daniels, Mrs George.
1945	Collis, Rev. Thomas R.	1946	Darby, Evelyn Douglas, M.L.A. (L.).
1946	*Cologon, J. H.	1948	Darley, Bertram.
1946	Cologon, Mrs J. H.	1922	Darley, Cecil Barrington (L.).
1948	Conde, H. G., M.I.E. (Aust.), (L.).	1948	Davis, Dr Joseph, M.B., B.Sc., Dip.Ophthal.
1932	Conigrave, C. Price (Fellow, 1940).	1944	Davis, Peter Dawson.
1951	Connor, John G.	1937	Dawson, Alfred C.
1948	Cooke, Mrs E. A..	1950	Dawson, William & Sons.
1946	Coombes, Miss M. B. (L.).	1949	Deane, William Houison, B.Sc.
1950	Cooper, Charles C.	1953	Deane, B. S. L., M.L.A.
1949	Cooper, Miss Madeline.	1941	Deering, H. Hastings.
1951	Cooper, Raymond K.	1923	Dellow, Walter J. (L.).
1932	Corrigan, E. C.	1924	Dellow, Mrs Walter J.
1929	Cosh, Mrs L.	1938	Denneen, Dr Alan.
1947	Cotter, Alfred K.	1945	Denmark, Mrs H.
1945	Cowhan, Miss Lucy.	1949	Dennis, Mrs H. E.
1945	Cowlishaw, George K.	1950	Department of Technical Edu- cation, Sydney.
1949	Cowper, Norman L., B.A., LL.B.	1933	Dey, Miss Dorothy, M.A.
1953	Cowper, J. H. B.	1950	Dibbs, L. B.
1953	Cox, Miss Frances M.	1948	Dickson, Mrs W. E.
1952	Cox, Robert H.	1938	Dobbie, Miss N. M.
1916	Cox, V. D. (L.).	1948	Dodd, Joseph F.
1947	Cox, Miss Valerie M.	1946	Dodwell, Thomas.
1944	Cox, William Charles.	1921	Donaldson, R.
1910	Cramp, Karl R., O.B.E., M.A. (Fellow, 1916), (L.).	1946	Donaldson, Dr W. S.
1950	Crane, Mrs C. G.	1953	Donaldson, Mrs M. M.
1951	Crane, C. R.	1952	Donnelly, Arthur D.
1945	Crawford, Professor R. M., B.A. (Syd.), B.A. (Oxon).	1952	Donnison, John L., B.Sc., B.Ph.
1952	Creagh, W. J., B.A., LL.B.	1941	Dorph, Rev. W. P. F.
1943	Crerar, William McL.	1951	Dougherty, Mrs Mary.
1922	Gridland, Frank, C.B.E. (B.).	1948	Dougherty, William B.
1944	Cripps-Clark, John H.	1951	Doughty, Miss Gladys.
1949	Crittenden, Victor.	1944	Douglas, Dr John R. S., M.B., B.Sc.
1932	Croft, Sir Hugh M., Bart.	1952	Doust, Barton.
1943	Croll, Mrs L. E.	1933	Dowd, Bernard T. (Fellow, 1943).
1953	Crowley, Dr F. K.		

1943	Downer, Aubrey D. G.	J. A., B.A. LL.B. (Fellow, 1927), (B., 1941).
1941	*Downes, Major E. H. K.	Fergusson, Miss Wilsie, B.A.
1952	Downing, Hon. Mr Justice Robert R.	Fielder, W. W.
1948	Drayton, W. G.	Fisher, Charles R.
1939	Drummond, Hon. D. H., M.P. (Hon. Member).	Fisher, Miss K.
1943	Drummond, William D. (L.).	Fitzhardinge, Professor L. F., M.A., B.Litt.
1951	Duft, John H.	Fleming, A. P.
1937	Duhig, Miss Eva, B.A., B.Ed., Dip.Ed. (L.).	Flood, L. E. L.
1949	Dulhunty, Miss Beryl.	Flower, Miss Monica, M.A.
1944	Duncan, A. T.	Flynn, Miss Mary C., M.A.
1949	Dunlop, Eric, M.A., Dip.Ed.	Forbes, Morris Z.
1935	Dunphy, Myles J.	Ford, Noel Parks.
1953	Dunphy, Milo K.	Forster, Miss Margaret A.
1947	Dykes, Norman Francis.	Forsyth, John Malcolm.
1945	Earnshaw, John W.	Foster, Mrs A. G. Fellow, 1924), (B., 1925).
1944	Ebsworth, Austin Mitchell.	Foster, William Charles, M.A. (L.).
1926	Edwards, Dr J. G.	Francis, Miss Irene I., B.A.
1947	Edwards, Mrs Lucy.	Fraser, Donald J.
1954	Edwards, Sidney.	Fraser, Mrs D. J.
1947	Edye, Dr Benjamin Thomas, Ch.M., F.R.C.S.	Fraser, J. A.
1920	Elkin, Dr A. P., M.A. (Professor of Anthropology, Sydney University).	Fraser, Mrs J. A.
1947	Elliott, Miss Lily May.	Frensham School Ltd.
1941	Ellis, M. H. (Fellow), F.R.Hist.S. (L.).	Frew, W. L.
1947	Ellis, Mrs M. H.	Frizelle, Mrs M.
1948	Elliss, Miss Kathleen E.	Frost, Miss M.
1949	Enright, Walter A. G.	Fulton, Miss Barbara R.
1951	Erdos, Miss Renee F.	Furness, William, M.A., Dip. Ed.
1944	Evans, Miss Bettys.	Galley, R. M.
1930	Evans, Illtyd, L.A.B.	Gallman, John R.
1947	Evans, Robert Fitzgerald.	Garden, Clarence W. Gardiner.
1944	Evans, Silvanus G., F.R.S.A., A.I.A.A. (Lond.), A.R.A.I.A.	Gardiner, Dr Samuel S., M.B., Ch.M. (L.).
1953	Evans, Mrs S. G.	Gardiner, Miss Winifred M.
1943	Evatt, Hon Clive, Q.C., LL.B., M.L.A. (Hon. Member).	Garling, R. W. (L.).
1935	Evatt, Rt Hon. Herbert V., P.C., Q.C., M.P., M.A., LL.D. (Hon Fellow, 1943).	Garran, Hon. Sir Robert R., G.C.M.G., Q.C.
1945	Everett, Thomas Arundel.	Garvan, Miss Eileen M.
1945	Ewart, Frank W., LL.B. (L.).	Garvan, Miss Lois K. (L.).
1952	Fahy, Kevin F.	Geeves, Philip.
1933	Faithfull-Anderson, Miss Clarice V.	Geikie, Archibald H.
1951	Farr, Lyndon.	Geikie, Mrs. A. H.
1949	Fegan, Miss S. M.	General Assembly Library, Wellington, N.Z.
1946	Ferguson, George A.	Gibson, Miss Margaret (L.).
1914	Ferguson, The Hon. Mr Justice	Gibson, Eric.
	1941	Gibson, Mrs Eric.
	1930	Gilbert, Lionel A.
	1948	*Gill, Mrs L.
	1950	Gillespie, David.
	1941	Gillespie, Miss Margaret.

1937	Gillham, Miss E. M. (L.).	1916	Halloran, Aubrey, B.A., LL.B. (Fellow, 1925), (B., 1922).
1934	Gillham, Miss Helen.	1934	*Halloran, Henry F.
1945	Ginty, John Joseph.	1943	Hallstrom, Sir Edward (B.).
1935	Glass, Sydney B.	1951	Hamilton, Robert C.
1941	Glassford, Miss J. E.	1949	Hammer, Miss Kathleen C.
1944	Glassford, Miss Mary M.	1952	Hammet, Ivo C.
1952	Glassford, R. W.	1945	Hancox, Mrs W. G.
1934	Glasson, Robert Bruce (L.).	1953	Hancock, Miss E., B.A.
1949	Gledden, Mrs S. M.	1948	Hanlon, Robert.
1938	Gledhill, P. W., F.S.A.G. (Fellow, 1952).	1953	Hannan, H. J.
1948	Glynn, Mrs Alicia.	1941	Harding, Dr Warren (L.).
1914	Goddard, Roy H., F.C.A. (Aust.).	1948	Hardwick, G. A.
1952	Goldring, Leslie.	1940	Harley, L. J.
1952	Goode, A. C.	1951	Harrington, H. R., A.M.I.E. (Aust.), A.M.I.I.T. (Aust.).
1946	Goodin, V. W. E., M.A. (L.).	1952	Harrington, Rev. Thomas.
1951	Goodwin, Mrs N. L.	1951	Harris, Dr Godfrey (L.).
1951	Goodwin, P. R. L.	1951	Harris, Mrs J. M.
1930	Gold, Wilfred J. (Fellow, 1953).	1938	Harris, Miss Marion, B.A., B.Sc.
1951	Gowlland, Miss Dorothy.	1951	Harris, Miss R. J.
1951	Gray, A. J., B.A.	1949	Hart, G. Alan.
1943	Gregg, Miss Doris J.	1949	Hart, Mrs G. Alan.
1952	Green, Frank.	1944	*Hartigan, Rev. P.
1944	Green, Judah.	1946	Hartman, George Sydney.
1953	Green, Frederick D.	1936	Harvard University, U.S.A.
1949	Greening, Harry L.	1936	Havard, Ward L. (Fellow, 1938).
1945	Greenwood, Joseph.	1936	Havard, Mrs W. L., B.A., Dip.Ed.
1930	Gregory, C. A.	1952	Haven, Miss N.
1949	Griffin, Miss Audrey.	1952	Haven, Miss M. V.
1934	Griffin, Eric F.	1950	Hawaii University.
1923	Griffiths, Miss G. Nesta.	1953	Hawkins, Miss D. M.
1941	Griffiths, Noel.	1952	Healy, Mrs E.
1946	Griffiths, Lieut. Owen Evans, R.A.N.V.R. (L.).	1949	Heath, Harry.
1938	Grosse, W. F., B.A	1949	Heath, Mrs H.
1951	Grunseit, Mrs F. H.	1947	Heffron, Hon. R. J., M.L.A., Minister for Education (Hon. Member, 1947).
1947	Gurewicz, S. B., B.A.	1950	Hendrie, Miss A.
1941	Hackett, M. J., F.C.A.A., F.A.I.S., A.I.C.A.	1948	Heneay, Miss Helen, M.A., Dip.Ed., Dip.Soc.Sc.
1949	Hadley, Mrs E. B.	1952	Henry, Mrs M.
1950	Hadley, Miss E. L.	1952	Henshaw, Mrs Elsie E.
1942	Haggard, Miss Violet C. B. (L.).	1947	Herbert, Thomas John.
1952	Hails, Maurice.	1948	Herman, Morton E., B.Arch., A.R.A.I.A.
1953	Haines, Frank B.	1946	Heuston, G. W.
1949	Hall, Miss A.	1928	Heyde, Charles W.
1949	Hall, E. S.	1942	Higgison, T. H.
1943	Hall, Mrs Henry.	1933	Hill, Frank W.
1938	Hall, Miss L. M. (L.).	1948	Hilliar, Miss Mary.
1938	*Hall, Miss M. Annie (L.).	1919	Hindmarsh, L. R.
1952	Halliday, Mrs Alma L.		
1929	Halligan, Mrs M. B.		

1946	Hines, Miss Evelyn A.	1952	Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London.
1925	Hipsley, Dr Percy L.	1948	Iowa, State University of, U.S.A.
1947	Hodges, Harry Gordon.	1945	Ireland, A. E.
1949	Hodgkinson, Mrs H. R.	1947	Ireland, Frank.
1934	Hohnen, Karl A.	1947	Ireland, Mrs Frank.
1949	Hohnen, Mrs K. A.	1923	Ireland, John B.
1924	Hole, Mrs C. S. M.	1937	Ireland, J. F. N.
1947	Holliday, Mrs R. B.	1945	Irving, Miss Florence C.
1949	Hollier, Mrs M. (L.).	1943	Irving, F. H.
1940	Hollingdale, B. A.	1945	Irving, Miss Winifred C.
1921	Hollingworth, A. C.	1951	Jackaman, Alfred C. M.
1943	Holt, F. C. S.	1941	Jackson, Frederick H., B.E.
1943	Holt, Mrs F. C. S.	1918	Jackson, Joseph, M.L.A.
1943	Holt, Miss M. F. G.	1950	Jacobs, Miss M. G., M.A.
1938	Holt, Dr W. G.	1940	James, Miss Emily M.
1953	Holt, Judge Henry T. E.	1929	Jamieson, Mrs Sydney.
1953	Holt, Mrs H. T. E.	1941	Jeffreys, Arthur H.
1945	Hopton, Arthur J., O.B.E., M.A., Dip.Ed. (L.).	1952	Jehan, Mrs Emily.
1933	Hordern, Anthony	1952	Jehan, Eric (L.).
1905	Hordern, E. D.	1922	Jenkins, Mrs Lewis.
1917	Hordern, Sir Samuel (B., 1919).	1926	Jervis, James, A.S.T.C. (Fellow, 1935), (L.).
1935	Hordern, Samuel.	1952	Johnson, Mrs Elizabeth A.
1953	Hordern, Marsden Carr.	1931	Johnston, A. D.
1935	Horner, Arthur.	1929	Johnston, Miss V. E.
1949	Houison, Miss Fanny.	1938	Jones, Alfred V. (L.).
1934	Houison, Miss Gwenda.	1944	Jones, Charles Harold (L.).
1949	Houison, Miss Isabel.	1922	Jones, Sir Charles Lloyd (L.).
1921	Houison, J. K. S., F.C.A. (Aust.), F.I.C.A., F.S.A.G. (L.), (Fellow, 1935).	1923	Jones, Idrisyn F., B.A.
1917	Houlston, Mrs John.	1950	Jones, M. H.
1952	Houstone, Frederick William.	1943	Jones, Miss Phyllis Mander, B.A.
1921	How, A. S.	1946	Kafer, Barry Louis.
1917	How, Mrs A. S.	1952	Kardoss, John.
1948	How, Robert.	1927	Kater, Sir Norman, M.B., Ch.M., M.L.C.
1948	How, Mrs. Robert.	1937	Kaufman, Dr. Alfred F., M.A., D.O. (L.).
1944	Howard, Rev. C. S. A., M.A., L.Th. (L.).	1952	Kearne, Mrs E. I.
1948	Howe, F. O.	1948	Keary, Mrs F. M.
1940	Huddleston, George.	1948	Keary, Major.
1943	Hughes, John.	1951	Kelly, Rt Rev. Monsignor, K.G.H., Ph.D., D.D.
1941	Hughes, Richard N.	1944	Kennedy, Frederick H. (L.).
1946	Hume, Ernest.	1950	Kennison, G. S.
1933	Humphrey, Dr E. M. (L.).	1953	Kenny, M. J. B.
1943	Hunter, David B., M.L.A.	1946	Kevans, II. D.
1952	Hunter, Miss E. M.	1919	Kidd, Miss Mary D., M.B.E.
1951	Hutley, Francis C.	1948	King, Edwin Phillip.
1935	Hyde, Ernest H.	1942	King, G. A.
1927	Hyde, V., B.A. (L.).	1940	King, Nicholas Kelso (L.).
1933	Hyland, Frederick M., B.A.	1949	King, Robert K.
1917	Ilbery, Miss Mabel.		
1950	Inman, Miss D. M.		

1952	King's College, London.	1941	McCarthy, Rev. Oswald B., Th.L. (L.).
1952	Kirkpatrick, John F.	1946	McClemens, The Hon. Mr Justice J. H.
1933	Knox, Lieut-Colonel Adrian E.	1953	McDonald, Donald I.
1952	Knox, Arthur E. R.	1943	McDonald, G. K.
1948	Knox, Rev. David B. (L.).	1940	McDonald, Ronald G.
1949	Knox Grammar School.	1931	McFadyen, Clifford Leigh (L.).
1948	Knox, Mrs Mabel F.	1944	McGahey, Mrs M.
1945	Koerner, Miss Muriel J.	1943	McGillivray, James W.
1938	Lackey, Dr Samuel.	1943	McGovern, Rev. J. J.
1936	Lambert, Miss Vera.	1942	McGrath, Brian J., B.A., B.Sc.
1949	Lamming, Miss I.	1917	McIlrath, Mrs M., M.A. (L.).
1949	Lamming, Miss P.	1919	McIntosh, H. E.
1948	Langford, Frederick W. D.	1949	MacIntosh, H. V., B.E.
1927	Larcombe, E. E.	1949	MacIntosh, Mrs H. V.
1947	Lardner, Miss Lillian J.	1945	McIntyre, Mrs W. H.
1944	Larnach, Brian Mudie (L.).	1918	Mackaness, Dr George, O.B.E., M.A. (Fellow, 1940).
1947	Last, Mrs E. G. (L.).	1928	McKell, Rt Hon. Sir William J., G.C.M.G., (Hon. Member, 1943).
1945	Latham, C. E., B.A.	1945	Mackenzie, Arthur Arundell, junr.
1953	Lawson, Andrew.	1945	McKenzie, Ernest Joseph.
1937	Lauchland, Miss E. S.	1943	Mackenzie, Hector K. W.
1918	Law, Dr A. (L.).	1949	McKenzie, Miss Jean, B.A., M.Ed. (L.).
1949	Leach, Mrs. Stephen.	1938	Mackenzie, Miss Joan.
1951	Ledger, Mrs E. M.	1947	Mackey, Edmund Cunningham.
1951	Lee, Mrs Beryl.	1952	Mackie, Miss Nellie G.
1946	Lee, Brigadier Joseph Edward.	1952	McLaren, Ian F., F.C.A. (Aust.).
1925	Lee, Ronald Alfred (L.).	1927	MacLaurin, E. Colin B., M.A. (Camb.), B.D. (Syd.).
1937	Lees, W. J.	1934	MacLaurin, Mrs E. E.
1949	Leonard, Francis P.	1950	McLeod, Mrs Margaret.
1947	Levy, Alfred Alleyne.	1948	McLurcan, Charles D. (L.).
1949	Lewis, Mrs. G. M.	1948	McLuckie, Professor John.
1943	Likely, Alva Charles.	1924	McMaster, Sir Frederick D.
1944	Lines, Keith.	1942	McNally, Rev. Nicholas M.
1943	Linton, Walter.	1951	*McNicol, Miss Greta.
1949	Lion, Miss Hindra.	1945	McNiven, R. J.
1932	Littlejohn, Miss Mary O. (L.).	1950	MacSween, A. M.
1944	Living, Mrs G. J. (L.).	1951	MacSween, Mrs A. M.
1939	Lloyd, John E. F.	1943	McSweeney, Miss Trixie.
1944	Long, Gavin Merrick.	1935	Mallarky, Mrs S. R. (L.).
1924	Lough, J. C.	1949	Malone, James J.
1935	Lowe, Miss Florence.	1948	Malone, Joseph.
1945	Lowe, Harold.	1952	Manchester, Miss Kathleen.
1935	Lowe, Miss Mabel.	1944	Maron, John Stanley (L.).
1951	Lowe, Robert.	1934	Marshall, Mrs S. J.
1948	Lowe, Spencer.	1951	Martin, Claude M.
1943	Ludowici, F. J.	1948	Martin, L. P.
1942	Lyons, Leo Allan, A.S.T.C., A.A.C.I.	1951	Martyn, Mrs A. K.
1949	Lyons, William J.		
1950	MacCallum, Duncan MacM.		
1951	Macarthur-Onslow, Brigadier Denzil, C.B.E., D.S.O.		
1952	Macarthur-Onslow, Richard W.		
1947	Macaulay, Miss M.		

1947	Mason, Keith W.	D.D., M.A., Archbishop of Sydney.
1926	Mathews, Francis M.	Mudie, G. L.
1920	Mathews, W. W.	1944 Muir, Henry Blake.
1924	Mathews, Mrs. W. W.	1947 Mulholland, H. K.
1944	Matthews, Miss Joan.	1945 Munnings, Mrs J. F.
1949	Maude, Henry Evans, O.B.E., M.A. (Cantab.).	1953 Munday, Dr Margaret, O.B.E.
1947	Maundrell, E. G.	1946 Munro, Miss E. M.
1946	Maurice, Thelwall T.	1953 Munro, Colin C. W.
1946	Maurice, Mrs Thelwall T.	1948 Munroe, Byron E., B.D.S.
1953	Maxton, Angus C.	1945 Murray, Murray.
1953	Mayes, Miss Belle.	1950 Musgrave, A., F.R.Z.S., F.R.E.S.
1953	Mayes, Robert.	1933 Mutch, Hon. Thomas D., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.A.H.S (Fellow, 1943)
1946	Meacle, Dr Norman H. E. D., Ch.M., D.L.D. (Eng.), F.R.A.C.S.	1948 Myers, Miss Zara.
1949	Mead, Miss C.	1951 Myles, Miss M.
1945	Merewether, Mrs E. R. H.	1953 Nardi, Miss L. A.
1943	Merrington, Arthur M.	1924 Nathan, Venour (L.).
1945	Metcalfe, John W., B.A., F.L.A. (Gt. Brit.).	1921 Neild, Mrs H. G.
1944	Michigan University, U.S.A.	1946 Neill, Miss Frances F.
1946	Middleton, Miss E. (L.).	1950 Nelson, Mrs E. M.
1949	Middleton, G. F.	1953 Newcastle City Library.
1947	Middleton, Miss Irene.	1945 Newman, George II.
1942	Middleton, Miss Shirley.	1952 Newton, R. J. M.
1949	Milford, Arthur A. F.	1921 New York Public Library.
1951	Milford, Mrs A. A. F.	1953 Noble, Miss E. D.
1951	Miller, Miss Doris J.	1951 Noffs, Rev. T. D.
1916	Miller, Miss Tennyson.	1921 Nolan, P. L.
1924	Milne, Edmund O.	1924 Norrie, Dr Harold, M.B., Ch.M.
1937	Milne, John W., B.A., LL.B.	1934 Norrie, Miss Irene.
1948	Mitchell, Miss June M.	1950 Norris, William Mackray.
1934	Mitchell Library, Sydney.	1949 Norton, Miss E. Joyce.
1938	Mitchell, R. Else, LL.B.	1949 Nutter, Miss J.
1946	Mitchell, T. W. (L.).	1952 O'Brien, Mrs Anne L.
1924	Moberly, Miss L. E. (L.).	1941 O'Brien, Most Rev. Archbishop Eris, M.A., D.D., Ph.D. F.R.Hist.S. (Fellow, 1948).
1950	Moir, J. K., O.B.E.	1917 O'Brien, Miss Kathleen, B.A.
1953	Moir, W. A.	1950 O'Connor, Miss Kathleen.
1948	Montague, Miss Constance E.	1948 O'Connor, Miss Mildred.
1947	Montague, C. H.	1952 Oeding, Miss Kathleen T.
1948	Mooney, Harold G.	1920 O'Flynn, Rt Rev. Monsignor W.
1949	Moore, Mrs Claudia.	1952 Ogden, Ronald E.
1916	Moore, Ernest (L.).	1945 O'Hara, Mrs R.
1947	Moore, H. Hamilton.	1953 O'Keefe, Miss Lorna.
1948	Moore, Mrs H. Hamilton.	1948 O'Malley, Brother J. P. (L.).
1951	*Moore, Mrs M. T. J.	1951 Orr, Gilbert W.
1953	Morgan, Harold Arthur McLeod.	1946 Osborne, Mrs E. M.
1933	Morison, Miss Annie J.	1944 Osborne, Miss Gladys C.
1948	Morling, Mrs M. J. (L.).	1951 Owen, Alan David.
1943	Morris, Mrs Ada M.	1947 Owen, Dr Lancelot A., M.A.
1953	Mort, Henry C.	
1942	Morton, Rev. Dr A. W.	
1937	Mosman, Irvine B.	
1935	Mowll, Most Rev. H. W. K.	

1952	Oxley, John.	1945	Rabone, Cecil G.
1942	Oxley, Miss Marion M.	1951	Rae, John D.
1949	Oxley Memorial Library. Queensland.	1944	Ramsay, David Bruce.
1949	Palmer, Kenneth, J.P.	1948	Ramsay, Thomas M.
1943	Palmer, R. M.	1953	Randwick Municipal Library.
1943	Parker, Arthur C.	1945	Rankin, G. H.
1952	Parker, Mrs Elsie H.	1935	Rea, Malcolm.
1953	Parker, Lieut. V. A., R.A.N.	1946	Read, C. Hansby.
1937	Parkes, Cobden.	1945	Reid, Alan Douglas.
1952	Parks, J. Henderson, LL.B.	1943	Reid, Miss Ena F.
1952	Parramatta High School.	1941	Reid, Dr G. R. S., M.A.
1950	Parry, Miss J. D.	1932	Reid, Miss Margaret (L.).
1949	Patching, Arthur B.	1932	Reid, Miss Mary (L.).
1949	Patching, Mrs Arthur B.	1934	Rex, G. R.
1945	Paton, Mrs E. F.	1920	Rich, Dr Vivian.
1952	Patourel, Stanley J. le.	1943	Richardson, Hon. Mr Justice Athol M.
1952	Patrick, Trevor G.	1934	Richmond, Major G. M.
1935	Patterson, Gordon A., M.A.	1952	Ricketson, Staniforth.
1944	Patterson, W. A.	1937	Ridge, Walter O.
1945	Patterson, Mrs W. A.	1937	Ridge, Mrs Walter O.
1951	Patterson, George	1945	Ringwood, R. A.
1952	Paulin, Miss Sheila.	1927	Ritchie, Dr Harold.
1953	Payne, Alan K.	1949	Roberts, Howard.
1933	Peachman, John T.	1951	Roberts, Mrs W. A.
1953	Pelly, Blake R., M.L.A.	1952	Robertson, Matthew G.
1946	Penfold, Colonel Edwin T.	1922	Robinson, Dr F. W., M.A.
1933	Phillips, Orwell.	1951	Roderick, Colin, M.A.
1951	Phippard, S. R.	1935	Ronald, Robert B.
1949	Picton Central School.	1917	Rose, L. N., M.A.
1949	Pierce, George W.	1933	Rothe, Christian W. (L.).
1953	Pillars, Mrs Nell.	1938	Rothers, Miss Emily H.
1939	Pogonoski, Reginald C.	1931	Rothers, William Barrington.
1949	Polin, Herbert J.	1952	Rowe, Sydney.
1951	Polin, Mrs Herbert J.	1947	Rowell, Alfred Ernest, J.P.
1951	Porter, Mrs Laura.	1941	Rowland, Edward Carr, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S., (Fellow, 1952), (L.).
1946	Porter, Mrs Persia (L.).	1951	Rowley, Arthur,
1948	Pottinger, Miss J. S.	1947	Rumsey, Herbert J., J.P., F.R.Hist.S., F.S.R. (Lond.).
1947	Potts, Francis William.	1944	Russell, Peter Henry.
1917	Powell, Miss E. (L.).	1944	Rutherford, Mrs A. H.
1952	Powell, Rev. Gordon, B.A.	1948	Rutherford, Norman.
1921	Powell, Mrs John.	1953	Rutherford, Mrs Norman.
1946	Powell, John Wallis.	1952	Ryan, Mrs Dorothy.
1954	Power, Mrs Elena	1948	Ryan, Kevin A.
1941	Pratten, Miss Gwyneth A. (L.).	1937	Ryrie, A.
1952	Prentice, Mrs E. A.	1943	Sach, Edmund Westley.
1941	Prentice, James T.	1950	Sach, Mrs E. W.
1941	Prentice, Mrs James T.	1936	St Joseph's College, Hunter's Hill.
1942	Prentice, Miss Joan T.	1951	Salvia, Miss Cora.
1949	Presbyterian Ladies' College, Pymble.	1953	Sampson, R. W.
1950	Presland, Miss Blanche E.		
1954	Preston, Allan J.		
1951	Pullen, Royal.		
1948	Punchon, Victor A.		
1953	Quincey, Mrs Joan		

1935	Saunders, Miss Dorothy.	1949	Soper, P. V. S.
1932	Savage, Clive C.	1921	Spain, Colonel Alfred, V.D., F.R.I.B.A.
1949	Savage, Colonel Robert W., O.B.E., E.D.	1952	Stacey, Miss Ruby Ellice.
1947	Schauer, Maxwell.	1933	Stacy, Mrs A. L.
1947	Schauer, Mrs Maxwell.	1946	Stacy, Hon. Judge B. V., B.A.
1945	Schumacher, Miss Beatrice.	1950	Stafford, Miss Grace.
1943	Scotford, Mrs H. E., B.A.	1949	Stafford, Miss M.
1924	Scott, Mrs Ivor B. (L.).	1945	Stammer, Archdeacon E. H.
1944	Scott, James.	1945	Stanley, Vincent E.
1952	Scurrah, Mrs F. L.	1948	Starkey, William J. (L.).
1942	Searson, J. E.	1943	Stephen, Alastair E. (L.).
1938	Seccombe, Mrs Austen.	1936	Stephen, Alfred E. (B., 1943).
1949	Sedgwick, John.	1941	Stephen, James F., B.E.
1946	Segal, Harry, M.P.S., Ph.C.	1952	Stephen, Miss Janet.
1949	Segal, Victor Myers (L.).	1946	Stephen, Leslie Consett (L.).
1941	Seppelt, Miss Elenora (L.).	1949	Stephens, Henry A.
1938	Shaw, A. B., M.B.E., B.Ed.	1949	Stephens, Mrs H. A.
1952	Shaw, Alan G. L.	1949	Stephens, W. L.
1921	Shaw, Herbert A. (L.).	1949	Stephens, Mrs W. L.
1920	Shaw, Mrs J. A. (L.).	1949	Stevens, A. J.
1953	Shaw, Mrs O. M.	1948	Stewart, Rev. Douglas R.
1946	Shearman, Herbert John.	1920	Stewart, George Andrew (Hon. Member).
1932	Sheldon, Miss Clara G.	1945	Stewart, William.
1924	Sheldon, Sir Mark.	1953	Stewart, K. R.
1947	Shepherd, Charles Arthur.	1953	Stewart, Mrs K. R.
1951	Sheppard, Wilfred J.	1941	Stokes, H., F.C.A. (Aust.).
1946	Shepperd, Miss A. E. B. (L.).	1951	Strakosch, Henry E., B.A.
1944	Sheridan, Richard C. P.	1944	Street, John Austin.
1951	Shute, Arthur A.	1924	Street, Hon. Chief Justice K. W., B.A., LL.B.
1930	Simpson, Telford.	1943	Strohmeier, Mrs M.
1944	Simpson, William George.	1944	Stuart, John Wingfield.
1935	Singleton, C. C.	1953	Sussmilch, Miss M.
1933	Skevington, Miss L. (L.).	1950	Suttor, Miss Janet.
1948	Skillman, George.	1941	Suttor, Miss Kathleen.
1948	Skillman, Mrs George.	1918	Suttor, Miss Ruby M.
1951	Slade, Ernest R. S., F.C.A. (Aust.), A.C.I.S.	1949	Swancott, Charles.
1945	Small, W. M. B.	1949	Swancott, Mrs C.
1953	Smith, Bernard W.	1949	Sydney Church of England Grammar School.
1944	Smith, Chester.	1949	Sydney Church of England Girls' Grammar School.
1944	Smith, Mrs Chester.	1949	Sydney Girls' High School.
1948	Smith, Mrs Denis W. (L.).	1948	Syme, D. York.
1947	Smith, K. R. Bernard (L.).	1951	Tait, Mrs Lilian.
1941	Smith, William W. (L.).	1944	Tandy, Charles (L.).
1938	Smith, Henry Beecher.	1943	Taylor, Mrs Florence, O.B.E., L.R.I.B.A., A.R.A.I.A.
1946	Smith, Herbert Velvin.	1951	Taylor, J. G.
1949	Smith, Miss Jocelyn Chester.	1947	Taylor, Laurence W.
1948	Smith, Mrs Joan K.	1947	Taylor, Mrs M. C.
1947	Smith, Norman D. B.	1944	Taylor, Robert Inglis, B.V.Sc.
1947	Smith, Mrs N. D. B.		
1943	Smith, Hon. Thomas Janaurius.		
1948	Smythe, Miss Gladys.		
1950	Snow, Edward F.		
1947	Snow, Mrs Olga.		
1937	Snow, Sir Sydney.		

1942	Taylour, Angus E.	1947	Walker, Dudley Edwin.
1947	Teale, Kenneth Graeme, B.A., Dip.Ed.	1919	Walker, Mrs Frank.
1944	Terry, Charles Le Patourel.	1948	Walker, F. S.
1948	The King's School, Parramatta.	1949	Wallace, Mrs K. W.
1935	The Scots College, Sydney.	1945	Waller, Richard de B.
1943	Thomas, David.	1946	Walter, Edmund N.
1945	Thomas, Mrs G. Ross.	1942	Walter, Miss Jean.
1931	Thomas, Dr Ivor G., M.B., B.S., B.Sc., F.R.S.A.	1928	Walton, F.
1945	Thomas, Mrs Leslie C.	1947	Wanless, John Noel.
1951	Thomas, Miss L. F. S.	1949	Wansey, Mrs E. R.
1951	Thomas, Lynas W.	1949	Ward, Professor John M., M.A.
1951	Thomas, Mrs. L. W.	1946	Ward, Melbourne (L.).
1935	Thomas, Miss M., F.S.A.G.	1950	Warrick, Peter P., B.A. (Oxon.).
1947	Thompson, Harold R.	1945	Waterhouse, N. Warren, B.E.
1950	Thompson, Mrs Harold R.	1949	Watkins, Miss R.
1948	Thompson, Miss Kathleen.	1949	Watson, Jack Hayward (L.).
1949	Thornton, Mrs D. E.	1944	Watson, Thomas.
1934	Thornton, Reginald.	1947	Watts, Walter Norman.
1950	Thorp, Miss O. C.	1945	Waugh, Malcolm (L.).
1948	Thorpe, Sydney Thomas.	1948	Webster, Robert H.
1943	Tilghman, Douglas C.	1945	Weir, George, LL.B., M.L.A.
1946	Timms, Edward V.	1945	Welch, Roger.
1946	Timms, Mrs Edward V.	1943	Wenona Girls' School, North Sydney.
1947	Tineckman, Arthur R., B.E. (Syd.), (L.).	1944	Wentworth, William Charles, B.A., M.P.
1946	Tipper, John D., A.M.I.E. (Aust.).	1947	West Maitland City Library.
1944	Todd, Mrs J. L., B.A.	1937	Wetherill, W. H.
1949	Torrey, Edward P. (L.).	1943	Wettenhall, Dr Roland (L.).
1945	Towner, Edgar T., V.C., M.C., F.R.G.S.	1945	Whale, Norman O., A.C.A. (Aust.).
1931	Townshend, Mrs Richard.	1945	Wheeler, John S. N.
1952	Towson, Peter G.	1943	Wheen, Miss Agnes (L.).
1946	Treelford, Mrs Merle M.	1939	Whiddon, Hon. Horace W. M.L.C.
1950	Tulloch, Mrs E.	1939	Whiddon, Mrs Horace W.
1947	Tunks, Dr O. G.	1937	White, A. B. S.
1947	Turkington, Miss M., B.A.	1950	White, A. H.
1943	Turnbull, John M.	1942	White, Frederick (L.).
1949	Tutty, Mrs E. J.	1943	White, Geoffrey M. (L.).
1948	Uren, Malcolm J. L.	1943	White, Mrs Geoffrey M.
1914	Uther, A. H., LL.B.	1922	White, Miss Mary (L.).
1953	Vallack, R. T.	1944	White, Dr Mervyn McAuley.
1953	Vallack, Mrs R. T.	1949	White, Miss Myra.
1945	Veness, Miss Z. A. A.	1934	*Whiteman, Dr R. J. (L.).
1950	Verge, Will Graves.	1952	Whiteoak, Miss L. G., B.Sc.
1950	Verge, Mrs W. G.	1946	Whitington, B. L.
1952	Vernon, P. V.	1929	Whitley, Gilbert P. (L.).
1945	Vicars, Robert.	1937	Willard, Miss Myra, M.A.
1946	Vickery, Herbert Boyd.	1946	Willard, W. H.
		1945	Williams, Walter H., F.C.A. (Aust.), F.A.A., F.C.C.S. (Eng.).
		1947	Williams, Mrs Walter H.

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